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प्राध्यापक, भाषा विज्ञान
निजी पुस्तकालय
पुस्तक संख्या.....

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The Linguistic School of Prague

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INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES

IN THE

HISTORY AND THEORY OF LINGUISTICS

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JOSEF VACHEK

The Linguistic School of Prague

AN INTRODUCTION TO ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

1966
Indiana University Press
BLOOMINGTON & LONDON

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Preface

This little book owes its origin to the kind suggestion by Professor Thomas A. Sebeok, the Director of the Linguistic Institute 1964, held at Indiana University in Bloomington, that I should publish in an enlarged and revised form the series of lectures I gave there on the theory and practice of the Prague Linguistic School. This suggestion was strongly supported by the Indiana University Press, which agreed to publish the book as a kind of complement to the *Prague School Reader in Linguistics* issued by them in June, 1964. For their kind initiative both Professor Sebeok and the University Press deserve my sincerest thanks.

Not less sincere thanks, however, are due to the very cooperative group of students at the Bloomington Linguistic Institute, who received my rather sketchy and often inadequate presentation with a highly sympathetic response and who, in the discussions regularly following the talks, not infrequently threw unexpected new light on some of the points presented. Thus, in a way, my students were co-authors of the present little book, and I can hardly do better than to dedicate it to them in thankful recollection of the hours we spent together in the genial atmosphere of understanding cooperation.

In preparing the manuscript of the present book for printing I greatly benefited from comment and criticism by Academician B. Havránek and Dr. F. Daneš, of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. They, too, are gratefully remembered here.

JOSEF VACHEK

Prague, December 1964

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List of Abbreviations

AUC	*Acta Universitatis Carolinae* (Prague)
BSE	*Brno Studies in English* (Prague)
ČMF	*Časopis pro moderní filologii* (Prague)
ČMF-Phil	*Časopis pro moderní filologii, Supplement Philologica* (Prague)
ČSAV	*Československá akademie věd* (Prague)
LF	*Listy filologické* (Prague)
PP	*Philologica Pragensia* (Prague)
PSRE	*Prague School Reader in Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown Univ. Publications, 1964), ed. by P. L. Garvin
PSRL	*Prague School Reader in Linguistics* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1964), ed. by Josef Vachek
RLB	*Recueil Linguistique de Bratislava* (Bratislava)
SaS	*Slovo a slovesnost* (Prague)
SČJK	*Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* (a collective volume, published 1932 in Prague)
SPFFBU	*Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university* (Prague)
TCLP	*Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (Prague, 1929-39)
TLP	*Travaux Linguistiques de Prague* (Prague, from 1964)
ZfPhon	*Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* (Berlin)

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I

Some Historical Aspects of the Prague School

Before discussing, in very rough outline, the theory and practice of what is commonly termed the Prague School of Linguistics (and what should be more adequately denoted as the Prague approach to some basic linguistic problems) I believe it might be useful to sketch here, as briefly as possible, the general framework of what has been referred to for almost four decades as the École de Prague.

I feel I must also dispel, at the very outset, some possible misunderstandings. No complete theory of the Prague group can be presented here—only what in my opinion should be regarded as the typical and basic theses of that group. Further, I want to stress the fact that the École de Prague is not simply a chapter, if a famous one, in the history of linguistics. On the contrary, one can see that the present younger generation of Czech and Slovak linguists is more or less systematically building upon the groundwork laid by the pioneering effort of the Prague group of the late twenties and the thirties. A concrete proof of this is the first volume of the revived series *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*, which has appeared recently[1] and has professed its editors' aim to continue the old tradition of the prewar series *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, not only by using its title but also by developing the positive, fruitful heritage of the Prague theory. What has just been said about the present-day effort of the younger Czech and

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Slovak linguists does not mean, of course, that the achievements of the "classical" period of the Prague group are less sympathetically evaluated, even if, on a number of points, the present-day approach to some of the issues has understandably changed.

Turning now to this "classical period," we should first of all establish the time limits enclosing it. Its beginning may perhaps be dated by the first meeting of the Cercle Linguistique de Prague, which took place on October 6, 1926; the end of this period is marked by the outbreak of World War II, which did not interrupt but certainly did perceptibly weaken the activities of the Prague group. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Prague school also had its pre-history, which cannot be ignored if its history is to be duly grasped. As a matter of fact, some of the most progressive ideas of those who eventually made up the group had already been pronounced, and even published in print, long before the Circle began its activities. Perhaps the most brilliant example of this is a lecture given by Vilém Mathesius, the initiator of the Circle, as early as 1911 at one of the sittings of the Royal Czech Learned Society, and published in the following year in the Bulletin of that body.[2]

The lecture is an eloquent and convincing plea for the synchronistic approach to language phenomena, an approach which was to become more general, in the context of world linguistics, only after the publication of F. de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*.[3] Mathesius, however, noted some features of language which remained hidden even to the ingenious Swiss scholar. One them is indicated in the very title of the paper, discussing the "potentiality" of the phenomena of language, i.e., the oscillation which may be observed at a given period of time in a given language, and which serves as a valuable indicator of the forces at work in the language at any given moment. Unfortunately, Mathesius' paper was to remain virtually unknown to linguists abroad as its author never published it in a world language—its English translation has been published only very recently (see above, note 2). How far ahead of his time Mathesius had been when he

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compiled the paper is clearly shown by a statement made to Mathesius himself by Roman Jakobson in the mid-twenties, after the latter had become acquainted with the paper for the first time. He declared that if Mathesius had delivered his lecture not in Prague but in Moscow, it would have caused there a veritable revolution in linguistics. In Prague, at that time, the linguistic atmosphere had not yet been quite right for the acceptance of Mathesius' theses, and both his lecture and the printed paper had failed to provoke any discussion.

And yet one cannot say that the Prague atmosphere of 1911 was impervious to the penetration of new linguistic ideas. Below the surface of routine linguistic thought, doubts had been growing as to whether the apparent regularities in the development of languages and the alleged "Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze" (absence of exceptions to sound laws) was more than a dogmatic postulate which, in fact, was not backed by linguistic facts. The Czech scholar Josef Zubatý, a comparativist of world-wide reputation and an outstanding personality, was to become almost a symbol of the anti-Neogrammarian skepticism.[4] Still, a clear majority of Czech linguists were clinging to a more or less Neogrammarian conception of language, a conception represented, among the older generation, at least to a degree, by the massive personality of Jan Gebauer, the outstanding Bohemicist and author of the monumental *Historical Grammar of the Czech Language*, and, among the younger generation, by the eminent and sober comparativist Oldřich Hujer, as well as by the Germanist Josef Janko.

It will be worth while to devote some more attention to the theoretical and practical approach to the problems of language by Mathesius and Zubatý. If the imposing achievements of the two are compared, one cannot overlook a notable difference. While Zubatý, essentially a diachronistically-minded scholar, was usually content with pointing out the weak points of the Neogrammarian approach and with exposing such points by his unfailing criticism, Mathesius was not content with purely negative criticism. He made

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a remarkable attempt at establishing a method serving the needs of the synchronistic analysis of language, a method which would not lag behind the Neogrammarian method in its capacity, and would surpass it by its delicate sense for the fine facts of language. The search for such a method was to lead Mathesius to his postulate of what he calls the linguistic characterology of language. What he meant by this he showed in his lecture delivered at the First International Congress of Linguists held at The Hague in 1928:[5] by comparing the means with which different languages satisfy essentially the same kinds of communicative needs and wants, the analyst can arrive at what is typical of this or that language. The sum of such typical features, duly arranged in their hierarchy, is dealt with by the descriptive approach called by Mathesius the linguistic characterology. A number of valuable contributions to the linguistic characterology of English were contributed by Mathesius and his followers—some of them may be found in the series *Brno Studies in English*, volumes 1, 3, and 4.[6]

It may not be out of place to indicate here that the effort of the Prague School as a whole is often unduly simplified by foreign linguists who virtually identify its activities with those performed by the Viennese scholar N. S. Trubetzkoy and by Roman Jakobson (then living in Prague and, later on, in Brno). It would certainly be absurd to deny the gigantic importance of the work done by these two scholars for the development of the Prague conception; but it would be just as misleading to overlook the contribution to this conception by Mathesius and other Czech and Slovak members of the Prague Linguistic Circle: it was V. Mathesius' approach that was to become responsible for the name by which the new linguistic current was later on to be known all over the world. As is well known, the Prague movement claimed for its approach not only the epithet "structuralist" (pointing out that no element of language can be duly evaluated if considered in isolation from the other elements of that same language) but the epithet "functionalist" as well. Here, of course, a word of warning is necessary: the terms "function" and "functionalist," as used by the

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Prague School, are not employed in the mathematical sense, implying some dependence of the changes of x upon the changes of y. In the Prague sense the terms simply point out the fact that any item of language (sentence, word, morpheme, phoneme, etc.) exists solely because it serves some purpose, because it has some function (mostly that of communication) to fulfill.

In other words, according to the Prague conception language is not a self-contained whole, hermetically separated from the extra-lingual reality, but, in fact, its main function is to react to and refer to this reality. It will be fair to recall that it was Mathesius' conception of language which lay at the basis of the functionalist approach: by stressing the virtual identity of the facts to be expressed by all languages of the world and by directing the analyst's attention to the diversity of ways by which these identical facts are referred to in various languages, Mathesius very aptly emphasized what was to become the specific difference of the Prague structuralist conception, and what was to clearly delimit that conception from other structurally orientated linguistic currents, such as those of the Danish glossematic school and American descriptivism. (In this connection it will be useful to recall that V. A. Zvegincev, a well-known Soviet linguist, uses the very term "funkcional'naja lingvistika" when discussing the activities of the Prague School.)[7]

Mathesius' case shows, then, that the theory of the Prague group was not simply imported from abroad but was growing out of deep domestic roots. On the other hand, it would be most unjust to deny that the close contact the Prague people had with linguists of other linguistic traditions was to help very abundantly to build up the Prague linguistic theory and to provide it with a basis broad enough to cope with all aspects of the subject. The names of Trubetzkoy and Jakobson, outstanding representatives of the Russian traditions of J. Baudouin de Courtenay, L. V. Ščerba, and F. F. Fortunatov, and their part in the development of the Prague theory are too well known to be dwelt upon. The same applies to Trubetzkoy's and Jakobson's contemporary, S. I. Karcevskij, whose

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theoretical views combined the Russian and the Saussurean approaches, and who often very essentially contributed to the upbuilding of the Prague theoretical basis. But there were other linguists, mostly Russians, Ukrainians, and Germans,[8] who, by their close cooperation with the Czechs and Slovaks, gave their worthy contributions to this or that point of Prague theory (to mention only one rather typical example, the Ukrainian A. Artymovyč here outlined his interesting thesis of the tendency toward autonomy observable in the written language in comparison with the corresponding spoken language).[9]

Here it will be useful to point out that the Prague group has never formed anything like a dogmatically closed body; while it has been united in the basic acceptance of the structuralist and functionalist standpoint, in matters of implementation of the common principles there has always been a great variety of opinion. (Even now, the present writer feels certain that the presentation of the theory of the Prague group given in this little book will hardly find unconditional approval by some of the group's members.)

After these remarks concerning the parts played in the Prague group by native and nonnative forces, it may be useful to submit certain more or less technical points that can give some idea of the origins and growth of the Prague School. It has already been mentioned that the first meeting of the Prague Linguistic Circle took place on October 6, 1926. At that time, hardly any of its participants thought of founding anything like a linguistic school, or even an organized body. The handful of people present, it is true, had met several times before to discuss some points of common linguistic interest. On that day, however, they were assembled at the invitation of V. Mathesius to participate in a friendly meeting with a young German scholar, Dr. Henrik Becker, now Professor at the University of Jena in Eastern Germany. At this meeting Dr. Becker delivered a short talk on a subject which, too, was something like a foretaste of the linguistic interests to be pursued by the Prague group. The subject was "Der europäische Sprachgeist"

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(The European Spirit of Language):[10] the speaker analyzed some common features of cultured European languages in which these features had developed in a parallel manner, thanks to the analogous conditions under which the languages had been used. Special attention was paid in the lecture to semantic and syntactic loans and to the conditions and situations in which they can take place. When the meeting was over, its participants unanimously agreed to make such meetings regular and frequent. Thus regular monthly —and later on fortnightly—meetings with lectures and discussions became customary. For an American reader it will be interesting to note that already at the fourth of these meetings the speaker was Roman Jakobson (in January 1927). His subject was "The Concept of the Sound Laws and the Teleological Principle"; the importance attached to this talk by the author himself is seen from the fact that the abstract summarizing it[11] has been placed very prominently in the volume of his phonological studies and papers.[12]

The feeling of solidarity binding the members of the group—which, at first, had no shape of official organization but operated as an entirely free gathering—was strengthened by the apparently irrelevant fact that, for some time, every other meeting was taking place in the household of alternate members of the group. Of far more moment, however, proved to be the common tasks that faced the members of the Circle. As particularly important may be mentioned here the collective theses prepared by joint cooperation of the members and presented to the First International Congress of Slavicists held in Prague in the summer of 1929. These theses succeeded in covering a very wide field of methodological problems, both synchronistic and diachronistic, and did not neglect some essential problems of linguistic practice, as for instance, the problems of language teaching and of correct usage (some basic theses concerning the latter problem will be touched upon later in these chapters). The theses, published in Volume I (pp. 5-29) of the then inaugurated series *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*,[13] met with a sympathetic response and were widely com-

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mented upon in the discussions of the Congress. Their theoretical importance is also underlined by the fact that Zvegincev recently included them, though in an abridged form, in his above-mentioned *Istorija jazykoznanija* (see above, note 7).

The following year, 1930, was notable for another daring enterprise of the Prague group, namely, the convocation of the International Phonological Conference, the chief task of which was the discussion of basic phonological problems. This was meant as a preparation for the plenary discussion of phonology which was to be held in the Linguistic Congress at Geneva in 1931. It was indeed a daring enterprise, both scientifically and economically, but it was to prove very successful. No less than fifteen scientists came from abroad to participate in it, including people like Alf Sommerfelt, Karl Bühler, Jacob van Ginneken, A. W. de Groot, and W. Doroszewski (Trubetzkoy and Karcevskij were, of course, present, too); together with seventeen participants from Czechoslovakia they thrashed out the involved problems most efficiently, and thus greatly contributed the following year to the success of the Geneva plenary meeting dealing with phonology. In addition to this, the conference decided to establish the International Phonological Association with Trubetzkoy as president.[14] The *Proceedings* of the Phonological Conference were published as Volume Four of the *Travaux* series, just in time for the Geneva Congress.

The members of the Circle also actively participated in many international congresses and conferences dealing with linguistic topics (the First International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in Amsterdam, 1932; the Third International Congress of Linguists in Rome, 1933; the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in London, 1935, etc.). One of these meetings certainly deserves to be especially noted here, namely, the Amsterdam Congress of 1932. In the invitational prospectuses for this congress the organizers used, for the first time, the term "L'École de Prague." As no stimulus for this use had come out of Prague, the coining of the term undoubtedly bore eloquent testimony to the popularity the work of the Prague scholars had gained widely in linguistic

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circles, although barely three years had elapsed since the first presentation of Prague theses to the world of linguists. In the post-1932 congresses, and still more in those that were to be held later, a younger generation of Prague linguists also came to have their say; it may not be considered too immodest if I recall here my own papers read in 1934 and 1935 in London.

We cannot enumerate here all the international meetings, conferences, and congresses at which the members of the Circle delivered their papers and the discussions in which they took an active part. But it can be said that not improperly the period between 1929 and 1939 is often referred to—as already mentioned —as the classical period of the Prague School. The members of the group, it should be stressed, did not confine their activities to problems of general linguistic theory, so eagerly discussed in international congresses; they also felt it necessary to apply their conclusions to some urgent domestic problems.

This, of course, is not a suitable place to enlarge upon another side of the Circle's activities, most of which concern purely Bohemistic issues; if mention of them is made here at all, it is only to underline the fact that linguistics for linguistics' sake has never been the concern of the Prague group, but that the latter have always been conscious of the necessity of utilizing the results of their linguistic theory to suit the needs of everyday life, and to assist in the solution of urgent problems of the day.

Until the outbreak of World War II, which followed shortly after the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Prague Circle's teaching managed to gain a firm foothold in the country. The Circle's *Travaux*, of which altogether eight volumes were published by 1939, were becoming well known in the linguistic world. They had found ready response especially in those countries whose scholars had been occupied with analogous questions and had arrived at analogous solutions. This is especially true of the United States, Denmark, and the Soviet Union. In the United States, linguists like Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield had clearly realized the importance of the phoneme concept, although

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each of them approached the problem from a different angle; in Denmark the late, regretted H. J. Uldall strove to apply Hjelmslev's glossematic theory to the phonic level of language; in the Soviet Union the pupils of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay and L. V. Ščerba, the two pioneers of the phoneme concept in Eastern Europe, continued the traditions of their teachers. In none of these countries, however, did the functionalist approach of the phoneme concept receive such systematic attention as in the Prague School.

During the war period the activities of the Prague School were not completely interrupted, but they were heavily handicapped. Two serious personal losses had to be registered by the group, first, the death of Trubetzkoy in 1939 (which prevented the great master from finishing the last chapter of his monumental synthetic volume of *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, published as *TCLP* 7 in 1939); and second, Jakobson's flight from Nazi racial persecution to Denmark, Norway, and ultimately the United States. The closing of Czech universities in the fall of 1939 cut off the Prague Circle not only from the universities and their libraries, but also from the young students who might have developed and continued the Prague traditions. Finally, shortly before the end of World War II, on April 12, 1945, came one of the last serious blows—the death of V. Mathesius. Not long after that the death occurred of another outstanding member of the Circle, the comparativist J. M. Kořínek, formerly Professor of Bratislava University.

Even the end of the war, however, did not mean a definite turn for the better. The reopening of the universities with their then overcrowded auditoriums demanded that all the energies of the scholars should be devoted to pedagogical work. As a result of this, more ambitious research work and organization of research had to be postponed for more than two years. The Czech organ of the Circle, the periodical *Slovo a Slovesnost*, which had been suspended by the Nazis in 1943, was not to reappear until 1947. In the following year the members of the Circle as a body again presented collective answers to the questions formulated by the

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organizers of the Sixth International Congress of Linguists, held in Paris in 1948.[15]

Another handicap encroaching on the activities of the Prague group was the increased impact of N. J. Marr's doctrine of stadialism in the development of language, a doctrine which in the U.S.S.R. paralyzed the greater part of linguistic (especially historical) research work. Marrist theories found hardly any response in Czech and Slovak linguistic quarters, but still not much work could be done before the Marrist episode came to an end in 1950. Since that time, the heritage of the Prague group has been more or less systematically developed, though with some alterations due to the changed social context.

The new organization of scientific activities in Czechoslovakia in the early fifties also had its consequences for the Prague group: the old organizations, including the Prague Linguistic Circle, were replaced by new ones. The present-day organizing centers of linguistic work in which the traditions of the Prague School have been preserved and, even more important, systematically developed, are two in number: the Linguistic Association (in Czech, Jazykovědné sdružení), organizing mainly the specialists in general linguistics, in Slavic and Czech; and the Group for Functional Linguistics, associated with the Institute of Languages and Literatures of the Academy, and organizing mainly workers in Germanic, English, and Romance linguistics. Both groups mutually cooperate and the members of both have actively participated in the preparation of the revived *Travaux Linguistiques de Prague* (1964) The Linguistic Association, it should be added, has very active branches in Brno and in Olomouc; in Slovakia, remarkable work has been done by the sister organization of Slovak linguists, affiliated with the Institute of the Slovak Language of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The late fifties and early sixties have witnessed renewed interest in the activities and theories of the Prague group. Eloquent testimonials to this fact are new editions of Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge*

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both in the original German and in the French and Russian versions prepared, respectively, by J. Cantineau and A. Cholodovič, and the already mentioned imposing volume of Jakobson's *Phonological Studies*. In this context I may also refer to my own dictionary of Prague linguistic terms[16] (the book was compiled at the request of the Terminological Committee of the International Permanent Committee of Linguists) and, of course, the above-mentioned *Prague School Reader in Linguistics* (see above Chapter One, note 2). Last but not least, the insertion of a special course discussing Prague linguistic theory and practice into the program of the Linguistic Institute may be regarded as a symptom of revived interest in the activities of the Prague group.

To meet this interest, the following chapter will try to outline some of the most essential and typical features of the Prague theory. The chapters ensuing will discuss the way in which the Prague group viewed separate levels of language and how it solved some more concrete problems of linguistic analysis.

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II

The General Pattern of the Prague Theory

It may be found useful, at first, to enlarge a little on the synchronistic approach to language by the Prague School. Here again, it will be of some value to visualize the historical situation in which the activities of the Prague group had come to be placed. If we look back on the general history of linguistic research since its beginnings in the earliest decades of the nineteenth century, we find that this research was, roughly speaking, proceeding in two channels, running parallel but differently oriented.

One of the channels was oriented historically; its origins were connected with such famous names as Franz Bopp in Germany and Rasmus Rask in Denmark; in the following generation with the penetrating work of August Schleicher; and finally, in the late seventies of that century, with the work of the Neogrammarian School (die Junggrammatiker) launched by the famous *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, written jointly by the German scholars H. Osthoff and K. Brugmann, 1878 ff. The characteristic feature of the scholars belonging to this first current was their effort to penetrate as far as possible into the pre-history of language and to reconstruct sounds and word-forms of the non-preserved, prehistorical stages of language by comparing the earliest preserved documents of languages that had been developed from the non-preserved parent language. As is well known, August Schleicher even went so far as to reconstruct a fable in the Proto-Indoeuro-

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pean language (its wording may be found in Zvegincev's *Istorija jazykoznanija;* for other details concerned with the historically oriented linguistic research see Holger Pedersen's history of linguistic research in the nineteenth century).[1]

The positive achievement of this first current was that it managed to develop precise and accurate methods of analytical procedure. Its drawback, on the other hand, was that it failed to appreciate the structured character of language, and therefore concentrated its energy, for the most part, on atomistically tracing back individual sounds and word-forms to their earliest prototypes, not paying sufficient attention to the relations between such sounds or word-forms and the sounds and word-forms coexisting with them in the given language. To this should be added the already noted diachronistic bias, which did not admit of any scientific value in what we now call the synchronistic approach. Hermann Paul, the codifier of the Neogrammarian teaching, was very emphatic on this point. Scientific, i.e. historical, grammar was strictly opposed to "merely" descriptive, practical treatment of language facts.

The other channel through which linguistic research had been finding its way in the nineteenth century had the merit of duly appreciating language as a phenomenon existing *hic et nunc* and of making an earnest attempt at its analysis by nonhistorical methods.[2] The beginnings of this approach to language were connected with the famous name of Wilhelm von Humboldt (especially with his monograph on the Javanese language, Kawi); other well-known scholars to be named in this connection are those of the psychologists H. Steinthal, F. Misteli, F. N. Finck, and G. von der Gabelentz. We have already indicated what may be justly regarded as the most positive feature of this other current—it is the uncompromisingly synchronistic approach to the examined language. The drawback to the activities of this current was that its members failed to develop strictly scientific methods, comparable in rigor to those worked out by the linguists associated with the historical current. Differences between languages were explained by them as due to differences in the national psyches of the peoples using

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these languages, and that, of course, only shifted the problem from the domain of linguistics to that of another science, a "science," at that, which in the nineteenth (and early twentieth) century could hardly claim anything like strictly scientific methods.

Mathesius saw very clearly both the strong and the weak sides of the two scientific approaches in linguistics. And it was his effort to arrive at a synthesis of what was positively good in the two approaches that led him to his idea of striving for the establishment of linguistic characterology. In it he wanted to combine the methodological rigor characteristic of the Neogrammarian group with the fine sense for the delicate peculiarities of a given language which was typical of the Humboldtians. Mathesius may also have been stimulated, though to a lesser degree, by his fine artistic feeling—he had the reputation of being very expert in English literature, and he followed with some interest the work of people like K. Vossler and B. Croce, though he missed in them the scientific rigor he demanded from the new method. Much more important, however, proved to be Mathesius' keen interest in phonetics, which could not be denied strictly scientific status, despite its clearly synchronistic objectives and methods. Keen interest in every new, non-Neogrammarian approach to language facts is also clearly seen in Mathesius' paper on the potentiality of language facts (see above, Chapter One, note 2).

It should be noted, however, that the focal point of Mathesius' interest did not rest, at the outset, on the phonic plane of language; he rather concentrated his attention on problems of what he called "functional onomatology" and "functional syntax." The former was concerned with the means employed by language for the purpose of naming, and in this field he contributed very much to the linguistic characterology of both English and Czech. One of his most valuable contributions in this field examines the methods of forming new denominations for new facts of extralingual reality in the two languages. He found that, in coining new terms, Czech regularly makes use of derivation, as opposed to English, in which composition is the favorite method. To quote only one example:

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the terms connected with aviation are almost universally derived from the basis *let*—"flying" in Czech—while in English we find either compounds or word-groups having as their basis the word *air*—compare, e.g., *letec—airman, letadlo—aircraft, letiště—airport* etc. On the syntactic plane, viewed functionally, Mathesius laid the foundations to the "functional analysis of the utterance," analyzing it not into such formal grammatical elements as subject and predicate, but into "functional" elements, the most important of which appears to be the *theme* and the *rheme* (the first being the basis of the statement, known from the context or situation, the other supplying the actual new fact communicated about the theme). Sometimes analogous concepts are referred to by the American terms *topic* and *comment*, respectively.[3] It should be noted that the latter pair of terms came into use almost three decades later than Mathesius' conception, in other words, that Mathesius had arrived at the concepts involved more than a quarter of a century earlier than the scholars of other countries.[4]

Mathesius' Russian colleagues had chosen different ways in their own approach to the synchronistic treatment of language facts. Both Jakobson and Trubetzkoy had been led to this synchronistic approach by the Russian linguistic tradition. The influence of J. Baudouin de Courtenay and L. V. Ščerba had been intensely felt in the work of both, and it was coupled with the impact of the methodological rigor of the school of F. F. Fortunatov. With them, too, this domestic formative influence was to become strengthened by an important foreign factor. This was the teaching of F. de Saussure and his school, with which both Trubetzkoy and Jakobson were to become acquainted through their friend and colleague S. I. Karcevskij upon his return from Geneva, where he had had the opportunity of acquiring first-hand knowledge of the great master's theoretical views.[5]

Saussure's main thesis of the distinction to be drawn between *langue* and *parole* was to reach Prague only after his famous *Cours* appeared in the second, postwar edition, but it was even later when its consequences were felt. As a matter of fact, opinions have been

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divided in Prague as to the necessity of the concept of *parole;* the majority of the Prague linguists admit only the existence of concrete spoken utterances implementing *langue,* not the existence of an abstract *parole* superimposed on them. But this, probably, was not the thesis by which Saussure was to become most influential upon the group. It was again his stress on synchrony (as opposed to diachrony) which most deeply impressed the Prague linguists, prepared for this influence by the earlier approaches of Mathesius and Baudouin. Even more striking, however, is the fact that Saussure's views helped shape the Prague conception of the phoneme, although, as was convincingly shown by R. Godel,[6] Saussure's primary interest was not concentrated on the phonic plane of language. The passage which proved to be influential in the Prague group was the one in which Saussure argues that "les phonèmes" (which did not necessarily refer to phonemes as we take them today) are not characterized by their proper, positive qualities, but simply by the fact that they do not get mixed up with one another. Saussure says expressly: "Les phonèmes sont avant tout les entités oppositives, relatives et négatives."[7] Moreover, it may have been exactly this passage that was to become most influential in the radical separation of phonology from phonetics in the early years of the Prague School. As is commonly known, Trubetzkoy even went so far as to classify phonetics as a "mere" natural science, auxiliary to linguistics, while phonology was granted by him the much more respectable status of a part of linguistics.[8] This radical separation of the two approaches to the phonic aspect of language was responsible for the hostile reaction with which phonology came to be attacked in some phonetic quarters, but in principle (though not in all the details) it cannot be said to have been unfounded. (This issue will be returned to later.)

From what was said above in Chapter One it should be clear that the Prague linguistic atmosphere had been fairly well prepared for the Saussurean dichotomy of the synchronistic vs. the diachronistic approach to the facts of language. In fact, the great-

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est part of what the members of the Prague group published between the late twenties and the late thirties was concerned with the problems of the synchronistic analysis of language. This was in complete harmony with one of Mathesius' statements in which he urged that only the contemporary state of language can provide the analyst with complete and absolutely controllable materials. (It should be added that Mathesius and his colleagues viewed with great suspicion the apparent simplicity of the Neogrammarian solutions of most diachronistic problems, especially those connected with the earliest, and even prehistoric, stages of the development of language.) The synchronistic approach was, thus, undoubtedly predominant in the early effort of the Prague group. And yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that, in the emphasis they laid on synchrony, the Prague people did not pay sufficient attention to diachronistic problems or that they even tended to ignore them altogether. (This opinion, as a matter of fact, was once held very widely in linguistic circles, not only abroad but even among some Czechoslovak scholars addicted to conservative methods of research.)

The man who, on the Prague side, went most deeply into the problem was undoubtedly Roman Jakobson. As early as 1929 he published a monograph discussing the problems of the phonological development of Russian.[9] The opening and the closing chapters of this book gave a very precise formulation of Jakobson's views on the involved issues. He analysed, in a critical manner, de Saussure's viewpoint and opposed to it his own conception. Saussure appears to have been unable to reconcile the systemic character of *langue* with the changes to which *langue* is exposed in the course of time and which become manifested in *parole*. It is certainly symptomatic that de Saussure never worked out anything like a theory of *parole* which would form a worthy counterpart of his theory of *langue*. As it stood, the Saussurean conception could not but admit the "destructive" effect of the changes of language upon its structure, and yet it had to uphold the systemic

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character of *langue*, apparently valid for all time and for all conditions.

Jakobson, faced with Saussure's conception, pointed out this inner contradiction and attempted to do away with it by his suggestion of the therapeutic character of many changes to which language is exposed. The idea is that the system of language is always striving after some kind of balance of its elements. By this balance is meant the order to which all elements of the system are subjected; Jakobson's conception just consistently applied de Saussure's idea of the phonemes of language which "do not get mixed up with one another," but of course the idea was not applied by Jakobson to phonemes only, but to all items of all language levels. Now, in Jakobson's view, it often happens that this sort of balance becomes jeopardized in this or that point of the system, and it is found necessary to restore the balance. This restoration is effected by means of some change in the system; this change, however, in doing away with the danger in one section of the structure of language, may lead to the rise of another weak point in some other part of the system, so that here again some kind of therapeutic change appears to be indicated, and so on *ad infinitum*.[10]

Jakobson applied this theory of his to concrete problems of the phonological development of Slavic languages, especially Russian. To give at least one concrete example, Jakobson shows how the consonantal system of Slavic languages had to be reshaped after the dropping of the weak semivowels (the so-called *yers* i.e. ъ, ь) in the weak position; this loss of *yers* had as its consequence the acquisition of phonemic value by the palatalization of Slavic consonant phonemes in oppositions like *tъ* : *tь* > *t* : *t'* (originally, the palatalized quality of *t'* in *tb* had only been a nonphonemic, concomitant feature, due to the front *b*-vowel following this *t*).

It is fair to state here that Jakobson's idea of the therapeutic changes in languages was, if not prompted, then certainly given its finishing touches by Saussure's famous comparison of language to the game of chess. Saussure, of course, applied this comparison

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only to the jeopardizing effect a new move on the chessboard may have upon the balance up to then maintained by a set of, say, white chessmen facing the opposed black set. In his 1929 monograph Jakobson insists that the Saussurean analogy between language and the game of chess must be thought out to its full consequences. He says (page 14):

> Just as in a game of chess the loss of one piece often calls forth a whole series of moves on the part of the menaced player wishing to reestablish the balance, so in a given language, in the same way, there is a need of a whole series of phonetic innovations striving toward a reestablishment of stability of the phonological system. And it may happen to the members of the language community, just as it happens to a chess player, that means are used which, though they reestablish the balance in one point of the system, risk the rise of disastrous consequences in another of its points.

One should add here that this formulation of Jakobson's already occurs in the joint theses presented by him, Trubetzkoy, and Karcevskij to the Hague congress of linguists held a year earlier, in 1928, but that it was only in the 1929 monograph that this thesis was to be richly documented and placed in a broader theoretical framework.

At this point it will be useful to make a slight digression which will enable us to draw another line of demarcation, marking off the respective positions of the Prague and Copenhagen groups. As is commonly known, the Danish linguistic group, headed by the late Louis Hjelmslev,[11] has been opposed to taking into consideration, in studying the development of language, any outside influence exercised by external factors. In the Danish view, this development is a purely internal affair of the system of language. As the Danes supported their view by referring to the above-discussed Saussurian analogy between language and the game of chess, need was felt on the Prague side to oppose the Danish opinion. The critical comment was voiced by a member of the Prague group, Vladimír Skalička, in a Czech paper published in

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1948.[12] Skalička's argument runs as follows: "Hjelmslev underlines the fact that Saussure, in his famous comparison, employed exactly the game of chess for the purpose of explaining what is language, and not, for example, economic values. Hjelmslev says: 'The scheme of the language is, in the last analysis, a play (*un jeu*), and nothing more. . . .'" Skalička continues: "But it is exactly against this conception of the play that we have to object. The play of chess is not just identical with those few rules that can be easily learned by a schoolboy of ten. The sense of the game of chess only emerges from another kind of rules which are very difficult to fix and are found to be always changing, rules to be observed if the game is to be brought to a successful conclusion. Here," Skalička insists, "the dependence on social implementation is just as valid as is the economic life. The game of chess assumes various aspects according as it is a pastime of a handful of people or a mass phenomenon, etc. And this dependence on social implementation must be valid in language even more so."

The above digression had no other purpose than to call the reader's attention to the important line of demarcation between the Prague and the Copenhagen conceptions; it was not intended to solve the very difficult problem of the interrelation of internal and external factors in language development. This problem will have our closer attention later on in the present chapter. Here, we go back to the main line of our discussion—comment on the therapeutic changes in the development of language, as conceived by Jakobson in the late twenties.

It would, of course, be entirely wrong to conclude that *all* changes in the phonological history of languages were accounted for by the Prague school as due to therapeutic tendencies. It is to be noted that already in the first volume of the Prague *Travaux*, which was published simultaneously with Jakobson's second volume, another outstanding member of the group, Professor B. Trnka, did not hesitate to voice his opinion to the effect that apart from therapeutic changes, "it is proper to admit, for a given period of evolution, such phonetic changes in which the functional fac-

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tors play only a secondary part, or even an entirely passive part."[13]

After all, Jakobson himself in his *Remarques* (page 14) stresses the fact that the activity of the system of language is not confined to reacting against the blows the system is receiving from outside and, so to speak, to healing its wounds. He points out that a very important task of the forces lying behind the development of language consists in the maintenance of adequate means for the purpose of stylistic differentiation (e.g. for clearly signalling the emotive means as opposed to means devoid of emotional coloring).

It will be of some interest to compare Jakobson's theses of 1929 with those expressed by André Martinet in the late forties and early fifties, and synthetically summarized in his well-known monograph discussing the economy found in the phonetic changes in language.[14] As is suggested by the very title of the book, Martinet sees the most potent factor leading to the changes of the phonological system in the tendency to use the phonemic means of language as economically and as efficiently as possible. He mainly demonstrates this tendency by the cases in which the examined language, displaying some empty spaces in its phonemic pattern (Martinet calls them "cases vides"), succeeds in filling such spaces, sooner or later, by establishing a new phoneme, etc. Martinet's views in the late forties and early fifties are thus not essentially different from Jakobson's views in the late twenties. The difference lies in Martinet's shifting the ground of the theory: emphasis is no longer laid on the systemic drift of the language but on what is supposed to motivate this systemic drift—the economy supposedly governing all language mechanism, including its development.

It may be argued, however, that economy is only one of the factors (though, certainly, an essential one) that operate in the course of the development of language, but that it can hardly be awarded the status of a universal explanatory principle. In other words, one finds in languages a number of elements whose economic function is most questionable. This is true, for instance, of masculine or feminine gender phenomena (as in Slavic) which, if found in nouns

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referring to inanimate beings, have no referential value at all and are thus clearly uneconomic. It will thus be wise to admit that there exists in any language, which is basically an economic institution, some admixture of what is really noneconomic. Martinet himself saw this, but appears to have been unable to face it (Jakobson was not concerned with the problem of noneconomic elements in the language, as he had put the problem of language development not in terms of economy, but in terms of structural balance).[15] In our own opinion, uneconomic features can be tolerated in language as long as they do not interfere with its communicative functioning. The part played by the system of language in this—as in other matters, which are to be discussed presently—is rather regulative than initiative.

From what has been said so far here about the Prague conception of language development another important conclusion appears to follow. It has been pointed out above that the driving force of the process of development is mostly motivated by the structural situation obtaining within the system of language. To put the thing differently, a large number of changes—though certainly by no means all of them—appear to be motivated by some weak points, or—if you wish—by some structural defects in the given system of language.

If such structural defects can be eliminated by the acceptance of the influence of some foreign language (usually of one used by a neighboring language community), such acceptance proves to be feasible—here, again, the system of language and its structural needs exercise rather a regulative than an initiative function (for particulars, see again our paper quoted above, Chapter Two, note 15). The fact that bilingual speakers may play a very important part in the development of language has been repeatedly stressed by members of the Prague group, especially by B. Havránek and R. Jakobson:[16] such speakers, that is, having an equally good command of both language systems, are eminently disposed to "feel" the structurally weak points of the systems and to proceed, if unconsciously, to the elimination of such points. Most probably, it

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is also the existence of bilingual speakers and their social prestige which, in the long run, is responsible for the rise of what the Prague theory calls "language unions," i.e., geographical groups of languages revealing a number of identical phonological (and even grammatical) features, despite the fact that such languages are often genetically nonrelated. (See, e.g., Havránek's observation of the Balkan language union and the findings of R. Jakobson concerning the phonological systems of the wide zone of languages spoken in the geographical area termed Eurasia.)[17]

We have come to the conclusion that every language system reveals some structural defects. As language goes on developing uninterruptedly, it may be taken for granted that some structural defects are always present in its system, in other words, that its system is never absolutely balanced. One should not be astonished, then, at the fact that the structural analysis of this or that language often finds it less systematic than the analyst might expect. Indeed, it is rather the lack of any weak spots in the examined language system that should arouse the analyst's suspicion. The presence of such weak spots in the system of language should especially be characteristic of cultured languages with long-established traditions and with relatively rigid normalizations of their structures. In languages of this type it is exactly this sort of normalization that does not allow the evolutionary tendencies to break easily through the very strong set of precepts by which social institutions, mainly schools, keep the practical use of language conforming to a relatively conservative pattern. That this is so will be shown by one interesting concrete example. As is well known, all southern and central British English dialects have dropped the initial consonant [h] (c.f., Cockney forms like *'ouse*, *'eat*) or else added it at the beginning of words starting with a vowel in which *h-* has no historical justification. Phonologically speaking, these dialects have abolished [h] as a phoneme and employ it now only as an emotional signal. In the literary language, however, the phoneme |h| persists, although it is limited there to one situation, roughly, the word-initial position before a vowel. This amounts to saying that

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the Southern British standard behaves, on this point, more conservatively than all Southern English and Midland dialects, and thus does not follow the general trend of development clearly revealed by those dialects.[18]

This structural defectiveness of cultured languages, especially of those endowed with long literary traditions, must be taken into consideration when their analysis is being worked out. One should, of course, beware of attributing the deficiencies of one's own analytical method to the language system analyzed; but with due consideration of the whole situational context such a mistake can be easily avoided.

All that has been said here so far about the mutual relations of the synchronistic and diachronistic approaches to the facts of language is clearly indicative of one thing that has repeatedly been stressed by the Prague group: synchrony should not be identified with statics; in other words, even in the synchronistically studied period of language one is not dealing with static, absolutely homogeneous materials. On the contrary, at any moment in its development a language system displays items that are on the point of disappearing, and—conversely—items that are only just being born into it.[19] In other words, any language system has, besides its solid central core, its periphery, which need not be in complete accordance with the laws and tendencies governing its central core. This idea of the peripheral elements of systems is being considered with increasing attention. May I be allowed to mention here my monograph referred to above, Chapter Two, note 18.[20] Among American scholars the fact of structural inadequacies in language systems has been duly emphasized by C. F. Hockett (in the collective volume *Universals of Language*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, p. 20); other interesting remarks on the issues involved have been written by Professor C. A. Ferguson in his review of Morris Halle's *The Sound Pattern of Russian* (*Language* 38, 1962, pp. 284-298).

The problems discussed in the preceding paragraphs are closely connected with what may be regarded, in a way, as the central issue of the structuralist theory—the question of what kind of

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system language constitutes. We have already noted that language cannot be regarded as a system that is absolutely balanced, but rather must be looked upon as a system whose central, more stable core is differentiated from what may be denoted as the periphery of the system. Thus one should be warned against any oversimplification of the character of the system, which is, in fact, more complex than some structuralist enthusiasts and some critics of the structural conception are able to grasp. The complexity of the system is also reflected in the fact that within the system taken as a whole one can distinguish a number of sub-systems or levels, each of which has its own particular structure and, consequently, its own specific structural problems. This is what the Prague scholars have always felt and, as a rule, tried to respect in their concrete analyses of languages. Thus they were well aware of the specific nature of the problems of the phonic level of language, just as of the morphematic and syntactic levels, etc. At the same time, however, they insisted on the fact that, for all the specificity of these levels, the language is not just a sum of all of them, obtained by a simple process of addition, but a structure of a higher order, within which all the levels are more or less closely interlinked. This is, indeed, what the Soviet academician V. V. Vinogradov very aptly expressed, though in a different context, in a lecture he gave in Prague in 1957, by his often quoted dictum defining language as "a system of systems"; it should be pointed out that this dictum only concisely summarized what had been more or less clearly felt by the Prague linguists since the late twenties. That this had indeed been so may be seen from one of Mathesius' statements, contained in his Czech paper on the phonological structure of ModE and going back to as early as 1929.[21] It runs as follows: "The phonological system cannot be strictly and unreservedly separated from other sides of language . . . ; here, too, language stands out as a complex of mutually interdependent facts which cannot be dissected to independent classes even by the strictest systematic linguistic analysis" (see our *Dictionnaire de linguistique de l'École de Prague, "Langue—un complexe de faits inséparables"*).

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This conception of language as a system of systems at the same time clearly reveals that the Prague scholars have always been at variance with the view that a separation of levels is a necessary prerequisite of a scientific approach to the facts of language. Admittedly, the separation of levels was, for some time, held as one of the basic maxims of linguistic analysis as performed by the American linguists of the descriptivist group building upon the theoretical basis established by Leonard Bloomfield. The Prague scholars rather sided here with Professor Kenneth L. Pike, who, as is commonly known, denounced the Bloomfieldian approach as "compartmentalization."[22] At the same time, however, the Prague people do not feel quilty of "mixing levels," as they have, at times, been reproached with doing. In their opinion, "mixing" implies indiscriminate effacement of the limits of the levels and ignoring the existence of the specific sets of problems characteristic of each such level. The Prague linguists insist that they are not liable to this type of reproach; they fully endorse the existence of individual levels as well as of their individual sets of problems. Where they differ from the descriptivists of the Yale group is in their insistence on the mutual interdependence of these levels, which may become manifested especially in the course of development of the given system of language. In other words, it may sometimes be discovered that a change effected on one of the levels of language may have its repercussions on other levels of the same language. A trivial but obvious instance of such repercussion is found in languages like English in which reductions of unstressed syllables, due to the operation of dynamic stress (and thus essentially a matter of the phonic level of language), were to give impulse to the far-reaching restructuring of the English morphological and syntactic systems. As is commonly known, the originally "synthetic" character of the morphological system of English came to be changed into one that now is decidedly of an "analytical" nature. And it is just as well known that the rise of the analytical system of morphology resulted in the fixing of English word order—in other words, in a profound reshaping of the syntactic level of ModE.[23]

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It may be of some interest, too, to point out here that in its emphasis on the inadmissibility of the separation of levels the Prague group appears to be in agreement with the followers of generative and transformational grammar, who are equally emphatic in denouncing that separation. There is another point in which the approaches of the two groups reveal some similarity, and that is their attitude toward what the transformationists call intuition and to which the Prague group refers by a term that appears to it to be somewhat more precise—linguistic consciousness. The Prague group, though strongly critical of the interference of the nonlinguistic, mainly psychologistic, methods in linguistic analysis, has never denied the value of linguistic consciousness as a means of control that can be used in checking the validity of the results arrived at by the analysis.

There is another point on which the Prague theory has gone a different way from what had been, for a couple of decades, a basic maxim of the American descriptive group of Bloomfield and his followers. This point has been its steady concern for meaning, by which the Prague scholars indicate what is often termed content or, more exactly, the reference made by an utterance (and by the parts composing it) to what we call extralingual reality, i.e., to the outside world in the broadest sense of the word (including also our personal attitude to this outside world). This reference, indeed, is what the Prague linguists understand by the function of language. And here it appears essential to point out that the steady confrontation of the acoustic form and semantic content resulted in the establishment of an important fact that not only throws some light on the structural situation in the system of language in general but can also efficiently contribute to the solution of the problem of why language is always found to change. (It should be explained that by "semantic content" we mean here not only the reference to extralingual reality usually covered by what is called the lexical component of language but also facts of more abstract, often relational, character, i.e. those of the grammatical level and, last but not least, of the stylistic approach.)

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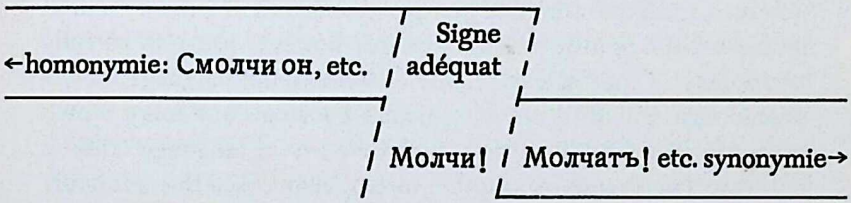
The contribution we have in mind was given by S. Karcevskij in one of his papers published in the late twenties.[24] Although the paper is brief it may be said to have had far-reaching significance. Its main idea is that the sign and its meaning (or, rather function; Karcevskij uses the French term "signification") do not cover, in all their points, the same field. The same sign, that is to say, has several functions, and one and the same function can be expressed by several signs. In other words, each sign of language is, so to speak, homonymous and synonymous at the same time or, to use Karcevskij's exact and succinct formula, "il est constitué par le croisement de ces deux séries de faits pensés," i.e. it is constituted by the mutual crossing of those two series of the considered facts. The idea will be made more explicit by a diagram found on page 86 of Karcevskij's paper:



As Karcevskij puts it, the relation of the phonic sign (*signifiant*) and the content (*signifié*) is always found to be of a somewhat gliding nature, in fact, there is always a kind of tension between the two. The sign tends to have other functions besides the one involved in a particular context; the content (*signifié*) is capable of being expressed by other means than the primary sign. Thus, the two are found to be asymmetrical; they are, as Karcevskij puts it, in a state of unstable balance. There is another very important statement that Karcevskij attaches at the very end of his paper: it is exactly this asymmetrical dualism of the structure of the sign that makes it possible for language to develop at all: the "adequate" position of the sign always becomes shifted as a consequence of its adjustment to the needs of the concrete situation.

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In our opinion, there can hardly be any doubt that Karcevskij's paper, despite its limited extent, constitutes a worthy complement of Jakobson's conception. It, too, reveals one of the basic causes of the drift always present in any language system—the cause being intrinsically conditioned by the very nature of the sign of language, and, consequently, by the nature of the system of language comprising such signs. The importance of Karcevskij's conception lies in his focusing of attention on the sign of language upon the higher levels of the language system. His analysis shows, in fact, that the development of language is not motivated by what is happening on the phonic plane alone but by what is taking place on the higher levels of language as well, perhaps there even more so.

May we be allowed to add that, in our opinion, it is the emphasis laid by the Prague group on the inner tension found in a system of language and conditioning its development that makes a significant contribution by this group to the common treasury stored up by world linguistic research. Prague linguists prove to be fully aware here of the basic antinomy characterizing language, of the phonic sign and the content signaled by it, an antinomy which cannot be left unnoticed if a reliable theory of language is to be built up. The Prague conception of language takes this antinomy into account (just as it does other antinomies found in language, e.g., the above discussed antinomy of synchrony and diachrony, of the individual language user and the social character of language, etc.) and makes it a basic explicative principle of all that is happening in language in stages both present and past. (For the philosophical background of this conception, see B. Havránek's paper on topical problems of linguistic methodology published in 1962 and listed in the Selected Bibliography below.)

It would, of course, be rather unjust to deny that the existence of at least some of the above-mentioned antinomies has been realized, more or less consistently, in various parts of the world. (As regards the tension existing between the central and peripheral elements of the system of language, note what has been said here above, page 27, on some observations made by C. F. Hockett, and

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on C. A. Ferguson's review of M. Halle's *Sound Pattern of Russian.*) Still, it appears that it is the Prague scholars who have been most deeply concerned with this set of problems, both on the theoretical and on the practical level. And it should be stated here that the absence of feeling for this tension in the system of language is often found to be characteristic of some linguistic approaches—this appears, indeed, to be the case of the descriptivist group of the followers of Bloomfield and, to a degree, also of the transformationist approach (which, however, may be due to the very specific tasks its adherents are setting themselves, which do not include—or, at least, have so far not included—the dynamic aspects of the functioning of language).

So far we have discussed here what might be called the general aspects of the structuralization of language. Before we pass on to discuss some particular aspects of this structuralization, particularly that of the separate levels of language, it will be useful to comment briefly on the subject of the functioning of language. It has already been emphasized here that by function we do not mean a sort of mathematical relation but simply the fact that the implementation of language supplies the members of the given language community with the means of interindividual communication in the broadest sense of the word. We have already pointed out that this interindividual communication is not confined to the actual content that is literally expressed by concrete speech utterances, but includes all sorts of social contact in so far as this is made by language means. In other words, it also includes what the English linguistic school calls, with the well-known ethnologist Bronisław Malinowski, by the term "phatic communion," i.e., such utterances as are not to be taken at their face value but serve exclusively to establish the first language contact between members of the speech community.[25] It has often been pointed out that in English (particularly in its British variety) this function is usually performed by utterances whose content seemingly centers on meteorology, but which in reality serve the purpose of bridging the gap existing between man and man.

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This, however, is not the only instance in which the function of language somewhat deviates from its primary aim, which is to convey information about the purely factual aspect of what we call extralingual reality. It should be realized that, as a rule, the speaker wants to transmit to the listener not only information about some facts but also his (the speaker's) attitude toward these facts. In addition to this, in a large number of cases the speaker will not confine himself to the expression of his own personal approach but he will strive to influence the listener so that he may react to the speaker's utterance in the way intended by the speaker.

All these aspects of the functions of speech utterances have naturally their specific means of expression in the system of language, and all of them have been closely studied by the members of the Prague group since the early thirties. The impulse to such study was given by an eminent Austrian psychologist, who died last year in the United States, Karl Bühler. In the thirties he taught at the University of Vienna where he was closely associated with Trubetzkoy; his interest in the problems of language gave rise to his often quoted monograph *Sprachtheorie*, published in 1934. In this book he outlined, among other things, his theory about the threefold function of the utterances of speech. He distinguishes, apart from the purely communicative function, "Darstellungsfunktion," informing of the factual, objective content of extralingual reality (and sometimes termed in English "the function of reference"), two other functions which are tinted much more subjectively and emotively. They are the so-called "Kundgabefunktion" and "Appelfunktion"—for which in English might be suggested respectively the terms "function of expression" and "function of appeal" (for the latter, some scholars prefer to employ the term "the conative function").

The aim of the first is to characterize the speaker; it is implemented by everything that can identify him, i.e., to distinguish him from other speakers of the community. Here belong, thus, the speaker's personal speed and rhythm of speech, his predilections

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toward particular words or phrases, sentence structures, etc. (One might object here that these personal characteristic features, having no social values, should not be regarded as the facts of *langue;* it should be remembered, however, first, that even these features become implemented only within the limits admitted by *langue,* and thus are of some linguistic interest; and, second, that they do have a social value precisely because they do notify the listener of the individuality of the speaker.)

The aim of the second of Bühler's functions is to appeal to the listener, to influence him in some way, often even to urge some positive action on his part or, conversely, to prevent him from undertaking such action. As is well known, this conative function is often signaled by specific types of sentence intonation; but it may also have other means at its disposal. At this point attention should be called to A. V. Isačenko's Russian paper of 1948,[26] describing some means of signaling the conative function in one of the West Ukrainian dialects. It is commonly known, of course, that some grammatical categories are characterized by a particularly strong conative function—this is especially true of the vocative case, found in some languages, and of the imperative mood. It is less known, however, that this conative function may be signaled, at times, by some particular means of morphematic structuring. Here we may quote again Roman Jakobson, who as early as 1932 pointed out the fact that in Modern Russian the form of the imperative mood profoundly differs from that of the indicative, inasmuch as it is built up exclusively on agglutinative principles. See, for example, Mod Russ. *pojd-ëm-te-s-ka* "let us go," in which each of the suffixes has its own, and only one, specific meaning, while in the indicative the same suffix may refer to two or more meanings.[27]

It is necessary to add, of course, that the three functions discussed above should not be regarded as mutually exclusive within one context or within some of its segments. As a matter of fact, in most instances two or even all of the three functions are found to coexist in the same utterance, but one of them is found to

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be predominant. As the main purpose of speech utterances is undoubtedly the conveying of objective information about extralingual reality, it is hardly a matter of surprise that in a majority of cases the predominant function will be that of reference (Bühler's "Darstellungsfunktion"). But the other two functions will very frequently coexist with it and in some instances assert themselves rather vigorously, sometimes even to the degree of obtaining predominance. As an example of predominance of the first, expressive function (Bühler's "Kundgabefunktion") may be mentioned personal lyrical poetry, in which the author's main preoccupation is to express his own personal feelings and emotions; any communication conveyed by such poetry about some objective extralingual reality is, as a rule, subservient only to the dominant expressive function, inasmuch as it merely supplies a kind of framework or background against which the emotive information may stand out more prominently. A similar situation may be found in commands in which there is a strong tendency of the conative function to predominate over the remaining two, although in this case the purely communicative, objective function must always uphold a relatively strong place in the hierarchy of functions because, after all, the listener receiving the command must get a reasonably clear idea of what he is requested to do or not to do.

So much had to be said about the three principal functions of utterances, as listed by Karl Bühler. There can be no doubt that Bühler's distinction has proved to be of great value in concrete analysis of speech. On the other hand, it has often been urged, and justly so, that the list of the functions established by Bühler can hardly be considered exhaustive. There certainly exist other functions of speech utterances which were left unnoticed by Bühler. Here we want to pay a little attention to just one of them which is not entirely devoid of linguistic interest. It is sometimes referred to as "the function of the structure of functions" and it was treated of in 1948 in an article by Karel Horálek.[28]

Attention to this particular function was, for the first time, drawn

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in the early thirties by ethnologists, especially by P. N. Bogatyrev, a friend and collaborator of Jakobson's (and now Professor at the University of Moscow). In 1937 Bogatyrev published a book on the function of the national costume in Southeastern Moravia (i.e. the central part of Czechoslovakia). It has become clear, especially to the ethnologists, that an isolated analysis of partial functions will not do, and that attention should be paid to the operation of the whole complex of functions. Bogatyrev has shown this convincingly for the national costumes of the peasant population. It would not do to consider the separate functions of the individual component parts of this costume, for the costume as a whole has also a specific function of a higher order, one which goes under the above-mentioned heading "the function of the structure of functions." If the population wearing that costume refers to it as "our costume," this indicates not simply the geographical provenance of the costume but a thing of a superior order, not derived from the sum of the partial functions inferior to it. The term "our costume" here implies some "pretium affectionis," a thing particularly valued by the members of the community on account of its apparent practical character, its supposed beauty of expression, the closeness of its association with their lives, etc.

Now, linguists have pointed out—and this is especially true of Horálek's paper quoted above—that an analogous evaluation is usually connected with the speaker's mother tongue. It comprises, too, a large number of individual elements or items, each of which has its own particular function to fulfill. But, apart from this, the whole of the system possesses a superimposed function, one which can again be denoted as the function of the structure of functions. There is, here too, some "pretium affectionis" in our approach to "our language," which appears to us to be the most practical, the most natural and aesthetic, in short, closest to us in every respect. This might seem to be a sort of evaluation which cannot be of great consequence for linguistics; but, as Horálek justly points out, in some situations it can really assume some linguistic significance. It can be shown, for example, that the phenomena of purism in

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the history of cultured languages are largely due to the laying of excessive stress on this specific "function of the structure of functions." As is commonly known, puristic tendencies consist in an effort to make a language, especially its stock of words and phraseology, "clearer," i.e. free from alien elements. Tendencies of the kind may not have been very common in English but they have asserted themselves to a considerable degree in other languages such as German. As is well known, the German theoreticians of speech even went so far as to replace common international technological terms by coinages employing domestic morphemic elements (e.g., "telephone"—*Fernsprecher*, "television"—*Fernsehen*, etc.). In Czech, analogous tendencies could have been observed, though their operation was manifest not so much on the lexical as on the phraseological level. It is quite clear, of course, that puristic tendencies have, as a rule, caused more harm than good to any language, if for no other reason than that they weaken the cultural and civilizational ties binding together languages and the peoples using them. But that is a different matter, which does not concern us here.

What is really essential in this connection is the fact that it is precisely the above-mentioned "function of the structure of functions" which is, for the most part, responsible for puristic tendencies. In supporting these tendencies, that is to say, the language community does not evaluate the individual means of the given language according as they fulfill their respective tasks adequately or not, but the total make-up of the structure of the given language is evaluated by a criterion of sheer conformity to a uniform pattern, derived from the native elements of the given language system. It should again be stressed very emphatically that we by no means approve of this criterion; the only thing we have in mind here is to point out that such a criterion may sometimes be derived from the undeniable existence of the specific function of language called here the "function of the structure of functions."[29]

The above remarks have clearly shown not only that the struc-

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ture of the system of language is by no means a simple affair but that the same is necessarily true of the functions of language.

In this chapter we have attempted to give, in very rough outline, some general information on the Prague conception of language, on the way in which language is structured, and on the function language has to perform. In the following chapters we shall attempt to make clear some of the important conceptions and methods which the Prague group worked out in its analysis of separate language levels. We shall start with that level which received the greatest attention from the Prague group and which is most frequently associated with its activities, the phonic level of language.

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III

Problems of Phonology

Prague linguists have often been taken to task for having devoted too much attention to the study of the phonic level, at the expense of the higher language levels which were treated by them much less frequently (and much less efficiently). This objection is not quite unjustified; yet it must be realized that the phonic plane offered itself as the most feasible objective to the Prague linguists just as it did, more than fifty years before their time, to the pioneers of the Neogrammarian approach. Admittedly, the analysis of the phonic level has the advantage of not being excessively complicated by the intricate relations of form and content such as are found on higher levels. This, of course, does not mean that the Prague people have ignored the importance of content for the analysis of language (this point has been amply discussed above). It means only that the Prague linguists wanted to test the new methods on the basic level so as to gain experience for their application to the higher levels of language. It should also be added that since World War II the interest of Prague linguists is no longer so exclusively focused on the problems of the phonic level as it used to be in the interwar period, but has clearly shifted to the problems of grammar.[1]

As we now start the discussion of the Prague approach to the phonic level, the first concept to claim our attention is the one denoted by the very term "phonology." By this term the Prague linguists mean "that part of linguistics which deals with phonic phe-

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nomena from the viewpoint of their function in language" (this definition is included in the "Projet de la terminologie phonologique standardisée," a set of definitions presented to the International Phonological Conference in 1930, and reprinted in its Proceedings).[2]

Incidentally, the original term was coined in Czech, Russian, German, and French (*fonologie, fonologija, Phonologie, phonologie*), and there have been some misgivings as to the corresponding English term, "phonology." As is well known, this term had existed in Anglo-American linguistics for decades, but associated with a content very different from the one attributed to it in Prague usage. The traditional meaning of the English term had been what the Germans have called "historische Lautlehre," the French "phonétique historique," i.e., history of sounds; and, admittedly, the attribution of a new meaning to a fairly established term is always a somewhat tricky affair. For this reason, some Anglo-American (especially American) scholars coined a different term, "phonemics,"" which was to become fairly well established in American linguistics. Even this term, however, is not quite free from disadvantages. The fact that it has been derived from the term "phoneme" might suggest the misleading idea that the subject-matter of phonemics is nothing but phonemes, an idea which would be decidedly wrong. Phonemics, if coterminous with phonology, should by its very definition deal also with stress, intonation, pauses, etc., all of which far outstep the domain of phonemes. It is for this reason that even some American scholars prefer to use the term phonology, coined after the Prague model.[3] For all this, the use of the term phonemics will not be altogether avoided in this book except in those instances where its use might lead to misunderstandings.

More important than the wording of the term is, of course, its conceptual delimitation from the terms with which it might be confused. Of primary importance for phonology is, obviously, its delimitation from phonetics. It has already been noted in Chapter Two that Trubetzkoy and Jakobson drew a very sharp line be-

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tween the two, classifying phonology as a component part of linguistics, while phonetics was assigned a far less respectable status as a mere auxiliary discipline of linguistics, ranking, as a matter of fact, as a natural science. (This sharp distinction, too, was already included in the above-mentioned *Projet*, and the Russian members of the group were to preserve it virtually unchanged—in his *Grundzüge* of 1939, Trubetzkoy holds essentially the same line as was proclaimed in the *Projet* of 1930.)

Though the distinction was sound in principle, some important considerations were not expressly stated in it, and this fact was long felt as a sort of injustice in some phonetic quarters. To such a radical distinction it was objected that, as a matter of fact, the two sciences are dealing with one and the same subject matter, which suggests that their mutual relation is too close to be formulated in terms so radical as shown above. Some scholars tried to soften the formulation by paraphrasing the term phonology by "functional phonetics" (this was done, e.g., by Martinet and by some Soviet linguists).[4]

The prevailing attitude of the Prague group to this distinction was rather aptly voiced by B. Trnka in one of his Czech papers in 1940.[5] He said: "The two sciences [i.e., phonology and phonetics] must give each other mutual assistance. A phonetician must pay some regard to phonemic problems and handle phonemically important phenonema more fully than the phenomena which are functionally altogether insignificant. A phonologist, again, takes as his starting point the materials prepared by the phonetician. But in the following stages of research, such as in systematic classification of functional oppositions or in research into phonemic groupings in words, phonology is quite independent of phonetics." Later on he adds:

> The question whether phonology and phonetics are really two independent disciplines is really a problem, although they differ in their methods. . . . Their mutual relation could be expressed as follows: if the examination starts from the form and proceeds to find abstract rules, it finds itself in the sphere of phonology; if, on the other hand, it starts

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from abstract rules and proceeds to the concrete form, it finds itself in the sphere of phonetics. . . . If we realize that phonetics differs from phonology only by the inverse direction of its procedure, the question of the limits separating the phonetic and the phonological phenomena is seen to disappear, because both kinds of phenomena are mutually oriented to one another and mutually complement one another in serving their social and individual aims. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the two disciplines differ by referring to different kinds of reality. The sum of all phonetic implementations will never constitute a phonological system and, conversely, phonological norms can never be reduced to phonetic facts by their division into smaller segments. . . . Thus the distinctions which, in Trubetzkoy's opinion, constitute phonetics and phonology as two separate branches of science appear to be due to differences in the aims pursued by the analyst; these differences, of course, must be reflected in different, exact terminologies.

This rather lengthy but important quotation shows that the status as separate sciences of both phonology and phonetics cannot be doubted but that their mutual relation is certainly much more complex than the radical line drawn in the early thirties was likely to reveal.

Having thus cleared up the concept of phonology, we may proceed to the discussion of some basic phonological terms. The most important of them is undoubtedly the basic term "phoneme." It is often, somewhat maliciously, pointed out that the scientific basis of phonology is rather doubtful in view of the fact that no unanimously accepted definition of the phoneme has been formulated so far. But the situation is by no means so hopeless. First, research in syntax has not been paralyzed by the fact that no universally accepted definition of the sentence has yet been presented. Second, even if there have been different approaches to the concept of phoneme, it is becoming ever clearer that one of the existing conceptions, viz. the one formulated by Jakobson, is gradually gaining more and more ground. It is fair to admit, of course, that the phoneme concept was subject to some development within the Prague group itself. In the earliest days of the group, Trubetzkoy

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and Jakobson were still very strongly influenced by the Baudouinian approach to the concept. As is well known, this approach was exclusively psychologistic. Already in the early nineties, in his well-known Polish monograph,[6] Baudouin defined the phoneme as "a psychical image of a sound" (eine Lautvorstellung) which arose by way of merging into one the psychical images of individual sounds representing that phoneme. This Baudouinian heritage still clings to the definition of the phoneme contained in the 1929 theses presented to the First Congress of Slavicists. There the phonemes are defined as "des images acoustico-motrices les plus simples et significatives dans une langue donnée" (the simplest acoustic and motor images having some significance in a given language).[7] In this definition, the influence of Baudouin was coupled with that of L. V. Ščerba, who was the first to emphasize the distinctive function of the phoneme (see his well-known monograph on Russian vowels).[8] Also Trubetzkoy's famous paper on the phonological systems of vowels,[9] published in 1929, still approaches the phoneme from this psychologistic angle.

In the Circle's meetings, this psychologistic bias was not infrequently criticized. An important part was played in these discussions by lectures delivered by the Ukrainian scholar D. Čyževśkyj and by the Austrian psychologist K. Bühler at the International Phonological Conference.[10] The discussions came to the conclusion that any appeal to psychology in attacking phonological problems was fruitless because it only shifted the problems to another discipline, which, besides, had no exact methodology at that time that would help it attack such problems. It should be recalled that the psychology employed by Baudouin and Ščerba was the old associationist, atomistic type which only gradually was to give way, in the late twenties, to modern experimental psychology, duly respecting the necessity of the structuralist approach to the examined facts. Under these conditions, the Prague linguists found it safer to rely only on their own linguistic methods in their effort to arrive at a reliable definition of the phoneme.

Thus we find, as early as 1931, in the *Projet*, the phoneme

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defined as "a phonological unit not dissociable into smaller and simpler phonological units." This definition can be duly understood only if two more definitions are adduced, those of the phonological unit and of the phonological opposition. By the former is meant, in the *Projet*, "the member of any phonological opposition," and by the latter, "a phonic difference able to serve, in a given language, for the differentiation of intellectual meanings." This 1931 definition, however, was not only somewhat clumsy but, in addition to this, obviously wrong, because it insisted on the indivisibility of the phoneme into smaller units of the same kind. As is well known, however, the phoneme *is* divisible into smaller significative elements, which are now commonly called "distinctive features."

We tried to improve on the definition in the *Projet* in a paper of ours published in 1936.[11] There we drew a distinct line between the two terms used, up to that time, rather indiscriminately, and we urged the divisibility of the phoneme into phonological units (i.e., roughly speaking, into what are now called the distinctive features as noted above). We defined the phoneme as "a part of the member of the complex phonological opposition, a part which may be dissociated into simultaneous, but not into successive phonological units." This, of course, presupposes the distinction between the simple and complex phonological opposition. The former is "a minimum phonic opposition capable of serving, in the given language, for the differentiation of intellectual meanings," while the latter is a "nonminimum phonic opposition" of analogous capacity. It only remains to be added that we define the "phonological unit" as "a member of a simple phonological opposition." The somewhat cumbersome procedure by which this definition of the phoneme was developed was due to the necessity of following closely the definitional procedure of the *Projet* of 1931, in order to demonstrate its weak spots. May we point out that our reference to the nonseparability of phonemes into successive elements was also endorsed by Trubetzkoy, who included it in his definition of the phoneme found in his *Grundzüge* of 1939 (p. 34). Accord-

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ing to him, "those phonological units which, from the viewpoint of the given language, cannot be analyzed into still smaller, successive phonological units, are called phonemes."

Trubetzkoy, however, also includes in his *Grundzüge* another definition of the phoneme. On the next page (p. 35) he says: "One can say that the phoneme is the sum of the phonologically relevant qualities of a sound." (Here it should be warned that in Cantineau's French version of the *Grundzüge* this passage is worded much less clearly than in the German original—it says: ". . . le phonème est la somme des particularités phonologiquement pertinentes que comporte une image phonique." In studying this definition more deeply, one should thus start from the original German wording: "Man darf sagen, dass das Phonem die Gesammtheit der phonologisch relevanten Eigenschaften eines Lautgebildes ist.") This other definition, already clearly implying the division of the phoneme into what we now call distinctive features, was, in reality, not Trubetzkoy's but Jakobson's; he formulated it as early as 1932, not in a linguistic publication but in an informative article in a Czech encyclopedia, then published in installments[12] (*Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, s.v. "Fonéma"; the English translation of this article is found in Jakobson's *Selected Writings*, Volume I). It is perhaps this rather unusual place of publication that prevented Jakobson's conception from becoming more widely known in world linguistics. His definition runs as follows: "The Phoneme . . . by this term we designate a set of those concurrent sound properties which are used in a given language to distinguish words of unlike meaning." Obviously, one is faced here with the first ascertainable wording of the conception of the phoneme as a "bundle of distinctive features," now so popular both in Europe and in America. It is certainly worthwhile realizing that this conception goes back to as early as 1932, even if, oddly enough, its importance was not fully realized at that time. But the fact that the phoneme is divisible into simultaneous elements (whether one calls them phonological units or relevant phonic qualities or distinctive features) was accepted unanimously in the Prague group of the mid-thirties.

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It will be noted that all Prague definitions of the phoneme analyzed above have two features in common: first, their regard for semantic criteria, and second, the attention they pay to the phonic facts by which the phoneme becomes implemented. The first feature is evidenced by the stress laid in the above definitions on the differentiation of meanings, the second by the reference, explicit or implicit, to "phonic oppositions" or to "relevant qualities of sounds." By this attention the Prague conception of the phoneme became distinctly opposed to the conception of the English phonetician D. Jones and to that of the Bloomfieldian descriptivist group.

As is well known, D. Jones also came remarkably close to the phoneme idea. His standpoint, however, was not that of a linguistic analyst but rather that of a practical transcriptionist whose professed aim was to obtain a most economical way of transcribing the language in using a minimum number of phonetic symbols. Jones believed he could achieve this by "classing" the sounds of a language into phonemes, each of which then was to be assigned its specific transcriptional symbol. In his conception, the phoneme is a family of sounds related in character and mutually exclusive as to their respective positions in language contexts. Moreover, Jones intentionally excludes from his definition of the phoneme any reference to its distinctive functioning in language; he even goes so far as to assert that it would indeed be possible to phonetically transcribe a language with which the transcribing person is absolutely unfamiliar. In one of our earliest papers, published in 1932,[13] we have shown that Jones's claim cannot be regarded as justified—without due regard to meaning (at least, to word and morphemic limits) the transcriptionist is likely to run into serious misinterpretations of the analyzed contexts.

As regards the Bloomfieldian group, one might repeat what has just been said about D. Jones's disregard of the facts of meaning, as applying to the approach of that group too. It is fair to state that the Bloomfieldians realized the difficulties to be faced by the analyst ignoring the factor of meaning, and tried to forestall such

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difficulties by introducing the well-known concept of juncture (by some called, more aptly, disjuncture, on account of the rupture which intervenes in the connected chain of phonemes at the limits of words or morphemes).[14] Even this device, however, is not much help. As is generally admitted, all allophones implementing one and the same phoneme should be mutually related, that is, the presence of the distinctive features of the phoneme should be ascertainable in all its variants. This condition is not fulfilled by the supposed allophones of the alleged "juncture phoneme": with the phonically so variegated signals of the limits of words and morphemes it is clearly impossible to establish a positive common denominator guaranteeing their status of allophones of one and the same phoneme. It thus rather appears that the establishment of the "juncture phoneme" was hardly more than an unsuccessful attempt to get out of the troubles incurred by the deliberate ignoring of the factor of meaning.

What is no less important in this connection is another distinction between the Prague and Bloomfieldian standpoints: while the Prague linguists, in their phonemicizing procedure, take into account the phonic aspect of the sounds to be interpreted phonologically, some important representatives of the Bloomfieldian group have denied its importance for such interpretation. This anti-phonic approach has been typical especially of Zelig S. Harris, who expressed it most outspokenly in his well-known review of Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge*.[15] He insists that the only methodical device employable not only for the purpose of establishing the phonemes of language but also for the purpose of the classification of phonemes is the distributional criterion, roughly identical to Jones's criterion of mutual positional exclusion. As we pointed out in a Czech paper[16] as early as 1949, the importance of the distributional criterion is not open to doubt, but this criterion simply cannot be applied if the analyst has no clue suggesting what phenomena should be classed together either as implementations of the same phoneme (if he is intent on the establishment of the phonemic pattern of language) or as implementations of the pho-

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nemes to be classified as related (if he is intent on this sort of classification). Such a clue can be supplied only by the material relationship of the implementations of the said phonemes. An analyst refusing to make use of that clue would hardly be able to avoid, on his own terms, some obviously absurd conclusions, such as the notorious case of the phonemic unity of ModE [h] and [ŋ], which, admittedly, show a positional distribution that is perfectly complementary. It is only the admission of the lack of material relationship of the two sounds which can guard the analyst from the danger of such phonological misrepresentation of facts.

Having drawn some lines of delimitation marking off the Prague approach from that of some other linguistic schools, we may go back again to the conception of the phoneme as a bundle of distinctive features. As is well known, this conception, now prevalent in world phonological studies, was to be further developed in the early fifties especially by R. Jakobson and Morris Halle in their theory of the binary oppositions in which all distinctive features are supposed to participate.[17] We shall comment on this theory later; in this place we want only to point out that this latest development of the phoneme concept, too, can be traced back to its Prague roots. Its first demonstrable version, that is to say, can be found in Jakobson's paper read at the Prague Circle in February 1938, in which the speaker outlined his phonological classification of consonants (see B. Trnka's summary of the paper in the Circle's Czech periodical).[18] The paper was then read, in its French version, at the Ghent phonetic congress of 1938, and its full wording was printed in the *Proceedings* of that congress.[19]

There is another important point that deserves stressing in this context. Jakobson's classification of the consonants, and ultimately the whole of his latest conception, is based not on physiological but on acoustic phonic facts. It is not always realized that this important aspect of his approach, too, can be traced back to its Prague roots. In 1929, in the theses presented to the First Congress of Slavicists in Prague, the preference given to the acoustic approach over the physiological is uncompromisingly emphasized.

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(This may have been due to the Baudouinian inspiration.) The very first paragraph of the pertinent chapter says: "The problem of the functional approach to phonological phenomena is responsible for the fact that in the research into the exterior aspect of these phenomena it is the acoustic analysis which should be shifted to the foreground, because it is exactly the acoustic image and not the motor image which is aimed at by the person speaking."[20] The somewhat wide gap of nine years which was to elapse between the programmatic statement and its implementation in a paper to the point may be easily explained by the relatively undeveloped stage of acoustic phonetics in the late twenties. It is commonly admitted that the theory of the acoustically implemented distinctive features could not be fully worked out until the early fifties when the important findings of electro-acoustics had supplied the necessary prerequisites. In the light of this accepted fact Jakobson's outline of the acoustic classification of consonants is even more remarkable: he was able to foresee, by almost one decade, most of the important conclusions to be reached by electro-acoustic research in the late forties. (Admittedly, the first book to make known these conclusions on a wide scale was the monograph *Visible Speech* by Potter, Kopp, and Green, published in 1947).[21]

Having commented, if briefly, on some aspects of the Prague concept of the phoneme, we shall add a few words on its implementations, the sounds by which the phoneme is represented in actual speech utterances. First, some comment is due on the very term "implementation." As a matter of fact, this term was not used in pre-war Prague publications. At that time, the commonly used term was "realization" (one was thus speaking about the realization of the phoneme |l| in ModE by two sounds, the "clear" [l] and the "dark" [l^{u}], etc.). This terminology, however, seemed to some people to suggest a sort of conclusion that the phoneme had no reality of its own (or, possibly, only some kind of ideal reality of the Platonic type). To stress the fact that the phoneme does possess a very specific kind of reality, one of a commonly accepted social value,[22] the term "realization" was abandoned and replaced,

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first, by the term "manifestation," and later on, in English, by "implementation" (it is fair to state that, as far as we know, the latter term was first used in the discussed meaning by American linguists).[23]

Let us now pass on to the implementations of the phoneme. In the Prague terminology, the sounds implementing the phoneme are called, from the functional viewpoint, phonemic variants. Here some comment is needed on the relation of this term to its Anglo-American counterpart, "allophone." The latter has an indisputable advantage over the term "phonemic variant" in being a single word, and, as a consequence, in the easy manner in which an adjective may be derived from it (allophonic). For these reasons, the term allophone—coined, if we are not mistaken, by D. Jones—came to be employed, from the fifties on, by some of the Prague scholars for the original two word combination. For all its technical advantages, however, the term allophone appears to be, in some respects, less adequate than the term phonemic variant. First, it has been often used by the Anglo-American scholars, to denote a sound which replaces, in some specific positions, the sound which most commonly implements the phoneme. In other words, "allophone" seems to be equivalent rather to the Prague term "combinatory phonemic variant" than to the term "phonemic variant" at large. To put the matter more concretely, the above-mentioned two [l]-sounds of Modern English could both claim to be denoted by "phonemic variant," while "allophone," as often used in Anglo-American writings, could only be used for the "dark" [l^{u}]. In Prague terminology, the clear [l] sound would be denoted as the "principal phonemic variant" (in French, *variante fondamentale*), i.e., as that variant which depends least on the neighboring phonemes, and which, besides, is free from emotional coloring. The dark [l^{u}], on the other hand, would come under the heading of "combinatory phonemic variant" (in French, *variante combinatoire*), whose occurrence is conditioned by that of the neighboring phonemes—in the case of [l^{u}], by its word-final, post-vocalic position. Clearly, the Anglo-American term allophone would have to

Dr० विद्या निवास मिश्र
प्राध्यापक, भाषा विज्ञान
निजी पुस्तकालय
पुस्तक संख्या .....

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be adapted, if it were to serve equally well with the Prague rival terms—one would have to distinguish between the principal (main) allophone and the (combinatory) allophone, which would naturally result in its extension—at least occasional—into a two-word term. (As a matter of fact, some American scholars have been using the term "allophone" with the attributes here suggested.)

The Prague conception includes, besides, other kinds of phonemic variants. In our explanation above of what is meant by the principal phonemic variant it was pointed out that such a variant must be free from emotional coloring. If such coloring is associated with the implementation of a phoneme, the Prague terminology speaks of a "stylistic" phonemic variant. As an example of a stylistic phonemic variant may be mentioned here the British long implementation of consonant phonemes, clearly signaling emotional approach to the reality referred to (such as in [l:ʌv]). There are, besides, other types of phonemic variants, e.g. the so-called facultative variants which can be freely used by any speaker and, although they do not conform to the norm used by the majority of speakers, are not evaluated as mistakes (see, for example, different degrees of diphthongization or, respectively, monophthongization of the phonemes [ei] and [ou] in both British and American English). Some such deviations are regarded as purely individual, others are more or less local (note, for instance, the Scottish lingual vibrant [r] in Modern English), but they are always regarded as tolerated oscillations within the norm, without any appreciable function (unless this should be the first of Bühler's functions, that of expression).

Some words are due here on the procedure by which the analyst arrives at the establishment of phonemes in language. This procedure rests on the basic fact, admitted by all shades of the phoneme conception, that the variants implementing the phoneme are mutually exclusive as to their respective positions in concrete language contexts. This can again be illustrated here by the ModE familiar pair of the clear and dark [l] sounds. Clearly, the two

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cannot occur in one and the same position in the context, and are thus unable to differentiate meanings in the language. This fact of mutual exclusion, viewed from a somewhat different angle, can be termed as "complementary distribution"—this conception implies that a phoneme distributes, so to speak, its variants so as to fill up all types of positions in which the said phoneme can occur. This aspect of the procedure has been particularly emphasized by the American scholars of the Bloomfieldian group who, indeed, made complementary distribution the pivotal idea of all linguistic analysis. As already mentioned earlier, they did this at the expense of other criteria commonly used by the Prague group, such as especially phonic similarity and distinctive functioning. The latter particularly deserves some comment here.

In their actual phonological analyses of languages the Prague linguists often made use of a very simple test, quickly and convincingly revealing whether a certain phonic difference is to be evaluated as phonologically relevant or not. In analysing a language, that is, they tried to find in it word-pairs, of such a sort that the members of each pair were semantically different but phonically identical except for one single phonic difference. If such word-pairs could indeed be found, they were regarded as clear evidence for the different phonemic evaluation of the concerned phonic qualities, in other words, for the attribution of such differing qualities to different phonemes. This test is usually associated in linguistic theory with the Copenhagen group, which gave it much attention and termed it the "commutation test." It should be pointed out, however, that the test had been used in the Prague group even earlier, although it was never referred to by the above term.[24] On the other hand, it is fair to state that the Copenhagen group extended the use of this test beyond the limits of phonology, making it, as a matter of fact, its main tool in the analysis of language. But the Bloomfieldian group never accepted the "commutation test" as a basic tool of analysis, in full conformity with its refusal of any recourse to semantic criteria in phonology and in linguistics in general; in specific instances, however, this test was

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always admitted to be useful, because of the short-cut it allowed to the analyst, saving him a large amount of time and troublesome work.

Although the Prague people never used the term "commutation test," the importance attached to it by them can best be estimated from detailed instructions worked out by Trubetzkoy for those complicated cases in which it is difficult to see whether one has to do with one or two phonemes (see, for example, the cases of the phonemic interpretation of *i* vs. *j* in many languages). These instructions are based on the commutation test and were formulated, in their first version, in a detailed commentary added to the definition of the phoneme in the above-mentioned *Projet* (*TCLP* 4), and in the revised version in Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge* (and, besides, in a separate booklet by Trubetzkoy, giving instructions as to how languages are to be described in phonological terms).[25]

* * *

The work of the phonologist is, of course, by no means finished when he has established phonemes of the examined language—this is only the first step in the phonological analysis of language. The Prague people have always been fully conscious of this, and from the very beginning of their phonological studies have been intent on finding out the mutual relations of the phonemes existing in the examined language. After all, this was only a natural consequence of the basic structuralist maxim that no element of the system of language can be duly evaluated unless its relations to other elements of the same system are taken into account. The first attempt in this field goes back, again, to as early as 1928.

In their joint theses presented to the first International Congress of Linguists held at The Hague, Jakobson, Karcevskij and Trubetzkoy pointed out the desirability of a more detailed specification (i.e., classification) of phonological oppositions (they still spoke of "différences significatives entre les images acoustico-motrices");[26] but under this surviving psychologistic terminology one can see very clearly the intention directed at a purely linguistic classification of phonological oppositions. To quote our authors: "Above

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all, it will be useful to regard, as a specific class of relevant phonic differences, the so-called phonological correlations. The phonological correlation is constituted by a series of binary oppositions defined by a common principle which can be abstracted (*pensé indépendamment*) from each couple of the opposed terms." In the theses of 1929 the concept is presented in essentially the same way, but clarified by a number of specific illustrations. As examples of the "common principle," adduced from the Russian are: the presence of vocalic stress as opposed to its absence; the voiced vs. voiceless character of consonants; and finally the "soft" vs. "hard" character of consonants. In the *Projet* of 1931 the psychologistic terminology was definitely abandoned. Here "phonological correlation" is defined as "a system of phonological oppositions characterized by a common quality of correlation" (in French, *propriété de corrélation*). The quality of correlation, in its turn, is explained as "the opposition of the presence and absence of a certain phonic feature which differentiates a number of phonological units [i.e., of phonemes, J.V.] and which can be abstracted, in the given phonological system, from the opposed pairs."

In this connection, another pivotal term should be registered: the "mark of correlation" (or, simply, the correlation mark). This is defined in the *Projet* as "the phonic feature which, opposed to its absence, forms the quality of correlation" (for instance, Russian vocalic stress, voiced character of consonants, softness of consonants, etc.). It is to be added that, of the two phonemes united within one and the same correlated pair, the one characterized by the presence of the correlation mark is called the marked member of the opposition, while the other one goes as its unmarked member. Thus, in the correlative Russian pair |t|—|d|, |t| is the unmarked, and |d| the marked member of the pair.[27] Another example of a correlative relation, fairly frequent in languages, is that of the occlusive and fricative consonants (such as |p|—|f|, |b|—|v|, etc.; the unmarked member here is the one implemented by the occlusive sound). In some instances, correlations of phonemes are found to be interlinked—see, for instance, the ModE instances of

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|p|–|b| |t|–|d| in which the horizontally placed phonemes are |f|–|v| |θ|–|ð| linked by the correlation of voice, the vertically placed by the correlation of occlusiveness. Instances of such interlinked correlations were called by Trubetzkoy "correlation bundles" (*Korrelationsbündel*); in some Caucasian languages, the phonemic analysis of which we owe to Trubetzkoy, such correlation bundles are not confined to two, but to three, four or even more mutually linked correlative relations. Similarly, in the domain of vocalic phonemes, such bundles are fairly frequent; Trubetzkoy discusses them in his 1929 paper (quoted above, Chapter Three, note 9). Thus he shows that, for instance, *i* in most languages is opposed to *u* by what is called correlation of timbre, while its opposition to *e* and *a* is concerned with what he calls *particularités du degré de saturation* (the English term for this concept has never been coined; perhaps one might call it "degree of saturation").

All other relationships of phonemes which could not be put under the heading "correlation," were summarizingly termed as "disjunctions" and originally regarded by both Jakobson and Trubetzkoy as not particularly interesting for phonological analysis. This standpoint is still upheld in the *Projet* of 1931 where *unités phonologique disjointes* are defined as "phonological units belonging to the system without mutually forming a correlated pair," while *disjonction* is defined there as "an opposition of two disjunct phonological units." Only gradually did it become clear that the disjunctions, characterized in an exclusively negative way, formed a very heterogeneous category calling for finer distinctions which would have to be formulated in positive terms.

The first attempt to establish some order in the jumble of oppositions, until then indiscriminately handled under the common label of "disjunctions," was made by Trubetzkoy in the mid-thirties in a French paper[28] in which he formulated the first version of his classification of phonological oppositions. The definite version of that classification is included in his *Grundzüge* in 1939: it is this final version which we take here as the basis of our comment.

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All phonemic oppositions are divided by Trubetzkoy into two basic groups: (1) bilateral and (2) multilateral. In the former of the two, both members of the opposition have some common phonic features whose sum is not found in any other phoneme (see the ModE phonemic pair |p|—|b| : there is no other phoneme which would be at the same time labial, occlusive and oral). In the latter category, the multilateral, one finds oppositions of phonemes whose common phonic basis is not confined to the two phonemes alone but may also be found in some other phoneme of the given phonological system (thus, for instance, the ModE phonemes |m|—|n| form a multilateral opposition because their common phonic features, occlusion and nasality, may be found in another ModE phoneme, |ŋ|).

If the relation existing between the members of a phonemic opposition can be found also in another pair of phonemes (or in a greater number of such pairs), then such an opposition is classed as *proportional*; in the contrary case it is termed *isolated*. As an example of the former category may be mentioned the ModE opposition of |p|—|b|, because the relation existing between its members is also found in the ModE phonemic pairs |t|—|d|, |k|—|g|. On the other hand, the ModE opposition of |p| and |ŋ| is isolated because there is no other ModE phonemic pair whose members would be characterized by the same relation as is the one existing between |p| and |ŋ|.

Finally, with regard to the difference mutually marking off the two phonemes forming the contrasting pair, Trubetzkoy establishes three possible types of oppositions: privative, gradual and equipollent. In the privative oppositions, one member of the pair differs from the other according to the presence or absence of the distinguishing phonic feature (for example, |p—b|, |t—d|). In the gradual oppositions, the members of the pair are differentiated by different degrees of one and the same phonic quality (e.g., French |i|—|e|—|ɛ|—|a|, differentiated by various degrees of what Trubetzkoy calls vocalic saturation, that is of the opening of the vowel; see above, p. 56). Finally, the oppositions which belong

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in Trubetzkoy's equipollent group are those which belong neither to the first nor to the second of the above-defined categories (e.g., ModE |p|–|t|, |t|–|k|, etc.).

An attentive analysis of the above classification of phonemic relation will reveal that Trubetzkoy's classification not only succeeded in introducing some finer distinctions where the previous approach could hardly see more than an amorphous mass of "disjunctions," but that, besides, an even more fundamental innovation was involved. The establishment of different categories of mutual phonemic relations clearly implied the focusing of attention on different, so far unnoticed, aspects of the classified phonemes; it thus could but strengthen the conception of the phoneme as a bundle of distinctive features and, indirectly, prepare the way for Jakobson's and Halle's theory of the binary oppositions of distinctive features composing the phonemes.

However, it is clear that Trubetzkoy's views here differ from the Jakobsonian ones. In his *Grundzuge,* which were published one year after Jakobson's lecture on the acoustic classification of consonants had been given in Prague (and, later that year, in Ghent), Trubetzkoy still upheld his gradual, i.e., at least ternary, classification of phonemic oppositions with regard to the difference mutually marking off the members of the contrasting pair. In other words, apart from the privative oppositions, whose character, in his conception too, is perfectly binary, Trubetzkoy acknowledged the existence of gradual oppositions (such as *i–e–a* or *u–o–a*) within which the relations appear to be not binary but ternary. As is well known, the existence of opposition of this kind has been the largest stumbling block for the consistently "binaristic" approach to phonemic oppositions, an approach typical of Jakobson and his Harvard group. It is well known that Jakobson and Halle try to bypass this stumbling block by dissociating the ternary opposition into two binary ones (e.g., the opposition |i–e–a| is divided into |i–e| and |e–a|).[29]

Further, Trubetzkoy's category of equipollent oppositions, and especially the instances of the phonemes |p–t|, |t–k| which were

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given here as specimen instances of that relation, shows clearly that this kind of opposition, too, hindered him from arriving at a consistently binary approach of phonological oppositions. As is well known, Jakobson and his group abolish the category of equipollent oppositions by interpreting the phonemes |p|, |t|, |k| in terms of various combinations of two phonological binary oppositions, namely compact–diffuse, and grave–acute. Here it is worth pointing out that Trubetzkoy may have been informed about this particular way in which Jakobson approached the problem of the mutual phonological relations of [p], [t], and [k] sounds. It is widely known that Jakobson and Trubetzkoy discussed many phonological issues in the private correspondence which they carried on regularly for many years. Although Jakobson did not use the very terms "compact" and "diffuse" in 1938, still his conception of the two oppositions is, in principle, fully worked out in his lecture of that year. One may thus venture to ask whether Trubetzkoy may have been informed about Jakobson's new binaristic conception but may have had some doubts which prevented him from associating himself with it.

At this point, a brief remark appears to be due on the relation of the Prague phonologists of today to the binary theory of Jakobson and his group. As already pointed out, the importance of the distinctive features has never been doubted in Prague phonological quarters. Some members of the group,[30] however, are of the opinion that along with the binary oppositions some multimember (especially ternary) ones must be admitted to exist. Besides, some members of the present-day Prague group feel that in concrete research work attention should not be concentrated so exclusively on distinctive features as is done by the Harvard group. It is believed that phonemes as wholes should be examined as well as the distinctive features, their constituent parts: it is emphasized that, for instance, in the history of the phonological systems it is often not the distinctive features but rather the phonemes as wholes that are the bearers of systemic tension, frequently resulting in important reconstructions of the phonological system. Inciden-

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tally, the necessity of not disregarding the phonemes as wholes is fully endorsed by S. M. Lamb's stratificational conception in which both the phonon (corresponding to our "distinctive feature") and the phoneme preserve equally important places (see H. A. Gleason's paper referred to above, Chapter Three, note 21).

Another remark on the fate of the old term correlation: this relation of phonemes was not to be antiquated by the new Trubetzkoyan classification. Seen in its light, it might be described, more accurately, as a bilateral, proportional, privative opposition. But, in view of the important part played by this type of opposition in language and in the process of language development it has been found feasible to uphold the old term "correlation" as more handy and less cumbersome than the descriptively more exact three-word term suggested by Trubetzkoy's analysis. We will, therefore, continue using it in the following lines and chapters.

Speaking of the term "correlation," we have shown above that the members of the correlative pair of phonemes are not placed, so to speak, on the same level: one of the two is evaluated as the marked member, the other one as the unmarked member of the opposition. It was also shown that the "mark of correlation," the presence or absence of which distinguishes between the two, has always been in the center of attention of the Prague linguists. They laid particular stress on the fact that this "mark" can be abstracted from the members of the opposed pair and considered separately; this stress is found already in the Hague theses of Jakobson, Karcevskij, and Trubetzkoy, and has never been entirely lost from the Prague phonological theory. One important consequence that was drawn from it in this theory must be adduced here. It is the establishment of the concept of archiphoneme which appears for the first time in 1929 in Jakobson's monograph on the phonological evolution of Russian. It is, according to the definition in the *Projet* of 1931, "the common element of two or more correlative phonemes, an element which can be conceived by way of abstracting the correlative qualities." (As an example is quoted

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Latin *a*, irrespective of its short or long quality.) The psychologistic element in this definition was removed from the wording found eight years later in Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge*. Here the archiphoneme is defined as "the sum of distinctive qualities which are common to two terms of a neutralizable phonological opposition" (i.e., to two correlative phonemes). This definition introduces a new important term which we must discuss at some length, that of "neutralization."

It has been commonly known that phonological oppositions cannot be asserted in all situations in concrete language contexts to the same degree. There are, indeed, some situations in which their assertion proves to be impossible, in other words, situations in which a phonological opposition is neutralized. As an example of this may be adduced the word-final position in one type of ModGerman and in ModRussian, in which paired voiced consonants cannot occur, in other words, in which the opposition of voice becomes neutralized (a good instance is supplied by the Russian word-pair *lëd–lët*; the phonetic implementation of both words is [l'ot]; an analogous word-pair is found in ModGerman *bat* "begged": *Bad* "bath," both of which are pronounced as [bɑ:t].

There were some misgivings in the Prague group of the early thirties as to the phonemic evaluation of the sound occupying the neutralized position. Trubetzkoy insisted, first, on the purely archiphonemic interpretation, and in his phonemic transcription he often used the capital symbol corresponding to the notation of the unmarked member (so that, for example, the above-quoted Russian words would be transcribed as |l'oT|; in some of his earlier publications, he used the Greek letter for this purpose). In some of his later writings Trubetzkoy voiced his opinion that in the consciousness of the speakers this archiphoneme is regularly represented by the unmarked member of the correlated phonemic pair. This would mean not only that both the Russian words noted above should be interpreted as |l'ot| but that even in instances like *zdorov'je* (health), where at the beginning of the word the opposition |z| : |s| is equally neutralized before the voiced |d|,

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one should interpret words of this type with initial |sd—|. Similarly, as in Russian the opposition of the softness of consonants becomes neutralized before a paired hard or soft consonant phoneme, it is, according to Trubetzkoy, always the hard (the unmarked) member that represents the archiphoneme, even if, objectively, it is implemented as soft. (E.g., in a word like [s'v'ečkə] "candle" one should interpret the initial [s'] phonemically as |s|.) The matter was often disputed in the Circle and a majority of the Prague people has never endorsed Trubetzkoy's views on this issue. Upon the whole, the Prague linguists would interpret the above-quoted words phonologically with the initial |zd—| or, respectively, |s'v'—|, not ignoring, at the same time, the fact that the phonological opposition of the initial phonemes to their correlative partner |s| is here neutralized.

One more important fact deserves pointing out here. Even Trubetzkoy himself admits that the members of the given language community evaluate the archiphoneme, in the neutralized position, as this or that phoneme. This fact we believe to be essential. If we admit that the phoneme is a bundle of distinctive features, not separable into consecutive bundles of that type, it implies that the whole of the spoken utterance, implemented by what is called, on the phonetic level, the spoken chain (*la chaîne parlée*), must be wholly "made up," on the phonemic level, of phonemes. One cannot therefore posit the presence in this chain of a unit placed on a subphonemic level, if it should be placed on the level of the phoneme. To put the matter still differently, any simultaneous bundle of distinctive features must be evaluated, by definition, as a phoneme, not as a unit subordinated to the phoneme. It appears thus, that in concrete phonological structures, implemented by spoken utterances, the concept of archiphoneme has no justification.[31] It can only be useful in structuring the phonemic systems abstracted from their implementations. And it is hardly chance that since Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge* this term has been virtually abandoned in phonological books and papers by the Prague group—this has obviously been due to its unfruitfulness.

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More remarks are due here about some special instances of correlative relations of phonemes. An important place among them is occupied by what may be called prosodic correlations, or, better, correlations based on prosodic qualities. They are called so because they do not necessarily concern one single phoneme but a syllable as a whole (including the consonant). Here belong the correlations of quantity, stress, syllabic intonation, and, last but not least, what is now usually called the correlation of contact.

In the correlation of vocalic quantity a long, marked vowel is opposed to a short, unmarked vowel (as in Czech, Latin, or Old English). The long vowel here counts as one phoneme; this, according to Trubetzkoy, is common in languages where no urgent reason exists to regard the long vowels as bimoric. Languages of this type Trubetzkoy calls "languages counting syllables." Opposed to them are "languages counting morae," in which some urgent reason gives evidence of the bimoric character of the long vowels. This may be, for instance, difference in intonation (rising vs. falling; see Old Greek, Lithuanian, Serbo-Croatian), or some morphological evidence such as the alternation in analogous morphological functions of a long and a corresponding short vowel, or, respectively, of a diphthong and a short vowel (this is the case in Slovak, where one can find alternations like *á* : *a*, *ú* : *u*, *ia* : *ä*, etc., according as the preceding syllable contains a short or a long vowel). The correlation of contact includes what the English phoneticians have often denoted as the opposition of "free" and "checked" vowels. It can be found, for example, in ModE and ModGerman. The opposition here is between a vowel whose articulation is not impeded by that of the following consonant (which is articulated only after the pronunciation of the vowel has gone through all its successive stages) and, on the other hand, a vowel whose articulation is arrested in full swing by the articulation of the following consonant while it still is in this full swing. (This correlation in English and German is sometimes mistakenly regarded as a correlation of vocalic quantity; but some phoneticians, incidentally, doubt its very existence.)

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Languages characterized by oppositions of vocalic intonation are sometimes referred to as polytonic languages, while languages lacking such oppositions are referred to as monotonic languages. A typical monotonic language, lacking phonological differences of syllabic intonation but using differences of syllabic stress for functional purposes, is Russian (see instances like *ˈplaču* "I weep"—*plaˈču* "I pay"; *poˈtom* "then"—*ˈpotom* "by perspiration"). This state of things should be kept distinctly apart from the situation found in languages which have dynamic stress but in which this stress does not differentiate meanings of words because it has been stabilized on a certain syllable of the word. This is the case of Czech ,where the stress is always placed on the first syllable of the word, in Polish and French (where the stress is placed on the penultimate or, respectively, on the last syllable of the word). The part played by stress in such languages should not be underestimated, however, because stress in them signals the limits of the word, but these are phenomena of an order different from the one found in Russian.

* * *

The phonological analysis of language cannot, of course, regard its task as completed by the establishment of its phonemes and the various kinds of relations ascertainable among them. All these facts are, that is, concerned with separate phonemes of the language. But, as is generally known, in concrete utterances we find not separate phonemes but their combinations. And admittedly, not all phonemes of the language have equal combining capacities. This has already been mentioned in passing when we discussed the principle of complementary distribution. We pointed out, at that time, that some of the phonemes can occcur only in limited numbers of positions, so that, for instance, some phonemes cannot be directly contrasted with one another (see, e.g., the ModE phonemes |h|, found only in a prevocalic position at the beginning of morphemes, and |ŋ|, found only in postvocalic positions at the end of morphemes—or at least not at the beginning of morphemes). In Prague terminology one speaks of the relatively small func-

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tional load (or yield) of such phonemes. The French term used in the *Projet* of 1931 was "rendement fonctionnel"; it was defined there as "the degree of utilization of a phonological opposition for the differentiation of meanings of words in the given language." It will be noted that this definition speaks of the functional load not of phonemes but of phonological oppositions. In the *Grundzüge*, however, Trubetzkoy already speaks about the functional load of the phonemes, also emphasizing the fact that the degree of this load can be expressed statistically.

That this is really possible, was proved much earlier by Vilém Mathesius who was the first among the Prague linguists to investigate the structure of language from the quantitative viewpoint. Two of his papers dealing with this issue go back to as early as 1929 and 1931, respectively.[32] Mathesius distinguishes three types of utilization of phonic qualities in languages: (1) the utilization in the system, (2) in the structure of words and word groups, and (3) in concrete speech utterances. The first type of utilization is exemplified by various degrees in which one and the same phonic quality is functionally made use of in the phonological systems of various languages or in the various stages of development of one and the same language. Thus, in OE the difference of voice vs. absence of voice was present in four pairs of consonant phonemes, while in ModE there are no less than seven such pairs; in French we find six consonantal pairs of the type. As regards the second type of utilization, concerned with the structure of words and word-groups, the difference of voice vs. absence of voice can again be used as a suitable example. In some languages (such as in English or French) this difference can be functionally utilized both at the beginning and at the end of words (or, basic morphemes), while in some other languages its utilization at the end of words is not feasible—this is the case, for instance, with Russian, Czech, and some of the varieties of German. To this second type of utilization also belongs the combinability of phonemes in different languages, which may be seen to vary considerably from one to another.

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Again, the combinations of phonemes found in a given language can be examined from two aspects. First, according to the word position in which such clusters can occur, and second, according to the composition of these clusters. As regards the first aspect, it is commonly known that some languages, like Russian or Czech, abound in word-initial consonant clusters, while others, such as German and—though to a lesser degree—English, prefer clusters in final word-positions. Figures ascertained by Mathesius in words consisting of from one to four phonemes in Czech, German and English are as follows (the first figure refers to initial, the second to final clusters): Czech 160 : 16, German 21 : 47, English 43 : 60. These figures clearly show that Czech and German here belong to very different structural types, as far as clustering of consonant phonemes is concerned. But the contrast of the two languages will appear even more impressive if one compares the composition of the clusters found in them. If the Czech and German consonant clusters are confronted with this aim in view, one finds that the structure of the Czech clusters is much more manifold and colorful than that of their German opposite numbers. The prevailing types of German clusters are modeled on the pattern "occlusive + liquid" or "fricative + liquid" (e.g. |bl, br, dr, fl, fr|; altogether thirteen combinations); while the other types occur only sporadically (e.g., affricate + fricative, like |tsv|; fricative + occlusive, as |šp, št|; fricative + nasal, like |šm, šn|, and, finally, fricative + fricative, viz. |šv|). In Czech we find a much greater variety of types and, what should be particularly stressed, a large number of types wholly unknown to German; e.g., occlusive + occlusive (like |pt, bd, kt|), occlusive + nasal (|pn, dm, dn|), liquid + occlusive (|lk, lp, rd|), liquid + fricative (|lv, lz, lž|), |h| + liquid or nasal (|hl, hr, hn|), or inversely, |j| or |l| + |h|, etc. These facts certainly show that as regards combinability of consonants, Czech and German differ widely from one another, and that they may almost be said to represent opposite, polar types of this combinability.

But there is another important difference which Mathesius does

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not fail to stress. It depends not only on the implemented types of combinability, but also on the intensity with which the given language avails itself of the types that are its speciality. In other words, one should ask about the percentage of exploitation of these types, the percentage which can be ascertained statistically. Mathesius attempted to do this for the most characteristic word-types of Czech and German and came to the conclusion that Czech does not use its abundant possibilities of phonemic combination nearly so intensely as German does. Mathesius' figures reveal that, in fact, Czech exploits only about 3.1% of its possibilities, while for German the corresponding figure is about 5.4%. There can scarcely be any doubt that these quantitative data are no less important for the characterization of the phonological system of this or that language than the purely qualitative data, ascertaining the inventory of phonemes and the systemic relations tying up these phonemes within the phonological system. It should be added that Mathesius' research in this field was continued by his pupils, among whom B. Trnka analyzed in detail the ModE stock of words consisting of one and two syllables.[33] The present writer also continued quantitative research on Czech words by his analysis of the Czech vocabulary consisting of words of five phonemes in length (the total material examined by us comprises no less than 11,000 words). The results of the analysis were summarized in a Czech paper published in 1940.[34]

The vast quantity of materials that have to be examined in research into quantitative phonological problems has been responsible for the fact that until now little work has been done in the Prague group in the field of statistical analysis of speech utterances. The apparently unrewarding drudgery, surpassing the working capacity of an individual scholar, can be achieved only by a collective body of linguists or with the help of electronic computers. The first method was attempted by a group of students of English at Brno University who analyzed, under my guidance, a corpus of contexts of Standard Present Day English to the total extent of 400,000 phonemes; the results of this analysis, however, have not

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been published. The computer method was used by Henry Kučera who subjected to analysis ModCzech colloquial contexts and published the results of his examination in his monograph referred to above, Chapter Three, note 14. Another specimen of his research in this domain was submitted to the Fifth International Congress of Slavicists in Sofia in 1963. All these results, however, represent only the first steps taken in what is actually a maiden field.

The facts treated under the heading of "functional load" have their importance not only for the synchronistic but also for the diachronistic study of language. It may be seen, at times, that the phonemes characterized by a very small functional load are not very firmly rooted in their phonological systems and are likely to be eliminated from them. Some concrete instances of the operation of this tendency were discussed in our monograph quoted above, Chapter Two, note 18 (Chapters One and Two). As especially interesting may be noted here the already mentioned case of ModE |h|, which has been confined in ModE to virtually one word-position only, i.e., to a prevocalic position at the beginning of a stem morpheme. The exceptional, one might say uncomfortable, status of this phoneme is shown by the well-known fact that the popular dialects of virtually the whole of England have uniformly discarded it as a phoneme; its status in these dialects has been changed into a signal of emotional approach to the extra-lingual reality referred to. This fact is popularly denoted as the "dropping of *h*'s," often quoted as a specific feature of Cockney English; it is, however, found in virtually all English dialects. Besides, it should be remembered that one meets here not only the "dropping" of *h* but also its insertion in the word-initial positions of words in which it is etymologically unjustified. The presence or absence of [h] in all these dialects signals the presence or absence of emotional coloring in the utterance concerned. (For particulars, see Chapter Two of our above-quoted monograph.)

It is, however, not always that the presence of a slightly loaded phoneme leads to its elimination from the phonological system. Sometimes the very opposite thing can happen—the position of the

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slightly loaded phoneme may become strengthened by some phonic or other change resulting in the emergence of the implementation of that phoneme in other words or word-positions. Such was the case of Proto-Germanic *$\bar{e}_2$, going back, in some very few instances, to Proto-IE *$\bar{e}(i)$. The weak position of the phoneme in the system was to lead in Gothic to its elimination by way of its merger with the original $\bar{e}_1$-sound. In the Western Germanic languages, on the other hand, the very opposite way out of the difficulties was to be taken: the position of $\bar{e}_2$ in the system was to be strengthened by providing for new instances of the jeopardized phoneme. First, some new specimens of it were to be supplied by the domestication of some loan words taken from Latin, such as *mēd* ("meed"). The main source of the new specimens of the $\bar{e}_2$-phoneme, however, were to become those words in which $\bar{e}$ arose from earlier $\bar{o}$ by the operation of the well-known *i*-umlaut (see instance like **fōtiz* > *fēt* "feet," **dōmjan* > *dēman* "to judge," etc.). Whether the slightly loaded phoneme is eliminated or, conversely, propped up by providing additional words containing it, there is one common motive that lies behind both solutions: the peripheral status of a phoneme whose functional load appears to be very small.

The examination of the functional load of phonemes led Mathesius to another important finding. Foreign words or loan words, even if they have been domesticated to some extent, still reveal structural features which clearly mark them off from domestic, native words. There are, for example, clusters of consonant phonemes in Czech which can be found only in the above-described category of words (for convenience, the latter may be called "synchronically foreign" words), e.g., the final groups *-rch*, *-lt*, *-št*, etc. Five years later, in 1934, Mathesius took up the idea again and devoted to it a separate German paper of his, in which the problem was discussed more thoroughly, and with special regard to the situation in ModE.[35] This paper deserves our special attention in view of the fact that Mathesius, as early as the mid-thirties, sees in it with particular clearness some of the problems which were to

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become the subject of attention of certain American scholars only after World War II, in the discussion of what is usually termed here "the coexistent phonemic systems."[30]

Mathesius first of all insists on the necessity of a clear distinction between a synchronistic and a diachronistic foreignism. The former is identified in language by some formal feature or features in its structure; features of the kind are found to differ from the formal sort commonly existing in synchronically domestic words. It should be realized that a diachronistic loan-word need not necessarily be evaluated as a synchronistic foreignism. In ModE one finds many instances of original loans which have become perfectly domesticated in the language and are now undoubtedly evaluated as domestic elements of the word-stock (for example, nouns like *beef*, *pork*, *mutton*; *table*, *chair*, *picture*; adjectives like *fine*—all of French or Latin origin but no longer recognized as foreignisms by ModE speakers who have not had special instruction in the history of the English language—and such speakers form an overwhelming majority).

The thesis that synchronistic foreignisms are accepted by the speakers of a language as a specific stratum of their vocabulary is remarkably confirmed by an interesting phenomenon found in Modern Czech and very convincingly commented on by Mathesius. In the synchronically domestic Czech word-stock the sound [g] exists only as an allophone of the |k|-phoneme (as in *kde* "where," *kdo* "who," *kdy* "when," pronounced with [g], due to the assimilation of [k] to the following paired voiced sound [d]; the phonological transcript of these words is, of course, |kde, kdo, kdi|). In Czech synchronical foreignisms, however, the sound [g] ranks as a phoneme (see instances like *golem* : *kolem* "a golem" : "round"). If, thus, [g] is found to stand in a Czech word in a position other than before a paired voiced consonant, it is unmistakably evaluated as a phonological foreignism, as a |g|-phoneme, alien to the synchronically domestic word-stock, and thus as a signal of the synchronically foreign status of the word containing it. And it is certainly most remarkable that in vulgar

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Czech pronunciation the [g]-sound often replaces the [k]-sound in some undoubtedly foreign words, especially if these words contain a liquid sound. Thus, words like *krém* "cream," *bicykl* "bicycle," *cirkus* "circus," *balkón* "balcony," are often pronounced by vulgar speakers with [g]: *grém, bicygl, cirgus, balgón*. The introduction of [g] into these words undoubtedly serves the purpose of phonemically underlining the synchronically foreign status of such words or, if you like, of adding an additional signal of their synchronically foreign status. A similar instance was pointed out by Trubetzkoy in *Grundzüge*: in Viennese German the word *Telephon*, which is obviously a synchronical foreignism (notice the stress on the last syllable!), is often pronounced with the nasal *õ*-vowel and without the final *n*-consonant. As this nasal vowel is alien to the phonological system of German, its purpose in this particular pronunciation is clearly to underline the synchronically foreign status of the word. Examples of the kind could, of course, easily be multiplied. At least one of them deserves to be mentioned here.

Modern English is relatively rich in *i*- and *u*-diphthongs, but not all of them can be put on the same level: a more detailed analysis will show that—at least in Southern British—the [ɔɪ]-diphthong occupies a special place. It is found, for the greatest part, in synchronically foreign words (diachronically most of them are of French or Dutch origin). The only exception to this, the word *boy*, is probably also of French origin, but has become perfectly domesticated; the presence of [ɔɪ] in it, however, might be explained away by a strong emotional coloring, usually characteristic of this word. The specific status of the ModE [ɔɪ] is borne out also by some other interesting facts. As was duly stressed by Trnka, this diphthong, unlike other *i*- and *u*-diphthongs, does not take part in ModE morphological alternation (the case *choose—choice* does not belong to morphology, but to word formation). Finally, also the phonetic implementation of this diphthong signals its exceptional status. Each of the other ModE *i*-diphthongs possesses its symmetrical partner among the *u*-diphthongs (see [ɪi—ʊu], [ei—

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ou], [ai–au]), only the diphthong [ɔɪ] lacks it, there being no such diphthongic item as *[ɛʊ]. It thus appears very clear that the ModE [ɔɪ] must be regarded as a signal of the synchronical foreign status of the words containing it. (In the latest decade some tendencies appear to emerge that tend to incorporate the diphthong into the ModE synchronically domestic pattern; this, however, belongs to a different chapter, which we presented to the meeting of the Linguistic Society of America held in Bloomington in July, 1964.)[37]

But the signals of synchronically foreign status of words are, naturally, not confined to the phonological level of language. As was shown by Mathesius, some signals can also be found in morphology (see, namely, the plural form *bacilli* beside the singular form *bacillus*, plurals like *theses*, *crises* beside singular forms *thesis*, *crisis*, etc.). There are also signals drawing upon the syllabic length of words: the basic morphemes of domestic words are regularly monosyllabic, sometimes disyllabic; words in which the basic morpheme extends over three syllables count as synchronically foreign (with one exception, the numeral *eleven*, pointed out by B. Trnka).

One of the important criteria that can be used to distinguish the synchronically foreign and domestic status of words is, as Mathesius has again shown, the mutual relation of their phonemic and graphemic structures. Anyone familiar with ModE is aware that there exist, indeed, two separate sets of rules for each of the word-groups; thus, to the digraph *ch* corresponds in the domestic vocabulary the phoneme |č|, in the foreign, however, |š| or |k|—cf. *chest* —*machine*, *orchestra*. Also the set of rules leading from the phonematic structure to its graphematic correlate is often different in the two strata: thus |sw| is put down, in the domestic word-stock, as *sw*, but in the foreign word-stock not infrequently as *su* (cf. *persuade*, *suave*, etc.). It was also discovered by one of Mathesius' pupils that the well-known *English Pronouncing Dictionary* by D. Jones, in which the vacillation of ModE pronunciation is very carefully registered, notes it as a much more frequent occurrence

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in synchronically foreign words than in their domestic counterparts (the exact figures ascertained were, respectively, 75.7% in foreign words and 12.7% in domestic words, the remaining 11.6% being compounds consisting of both synchronically domestic and synchronically foreign elements).

All that has been said here on the phonological and other differentiation of synchronically domestic and synchronically foreign words reveals clearly the delicate structure of the system of language which, from this viewpoint too, can justly be characterized as a system of systems. Our consideration of this fact will enable us to achieve a more adequate characterology of the analyzed language, as postulated by V. Mathesius. The distinction of the two strata of language proves to be the more important in that the differences existing between them are as a rule utilized for stylistic differentiation. This is seen with especial clearness in English where the original differences of provenience came to be reevaluated as differences signalling different stylistic intention. Moreover, the degree to which the two strata of the word-stock become differentiated in specific languages is by no means identical: the degree is, for example, much greater in ModE than in ModCzech. The differences of degrees, when duly ascertained for a large number of languages, may supply valuable criteria for a typological classification of the examined languages from this point of view.

In discussing the synchronically foreign elements of the word-stock, we have found that the foreign status of these elements is often signalled by phonemes or phonemic combinations unknown in the synchronically domestic part of the word-stock. It is time to add that such unusual phonic elements are often found to signal some other kind of deviant status—such as strong emotive coloring. Some illustrations of this type of deviation have already been given in the preceding pages—let us recall the long *l*-consonant in ModE *I llove it*. It has also been said here that the presence of the diphthong [ɔɪ] in the domesticated word *boy* might also be explained as a signal of emotional coloring. Mathesius himself

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quotes the ModE (archaic) interjection *zounds!* as an example in which the initial *z*-phoneme, in synchronically domestic words never found in this position, undoubtedly serves as a signal of such emotional approach. Mathesius also duly notes that in Czech strong emotiveness is sometimes signalled by specific combinations of consonant and vowel phonemes, especially by that of a palatal consonant followed by a back vowel (see *ťukat* "to knock at the door)," *hňup* "a foolish, non-intelligent person," etc.; note his paper in *TCLP* 4).

One member of the Prague group, the prematurely deceased comparativist Josef M. Kořínek, analyzed the problem of the emotional features in word-meaning in a number of his papers (the most important of them goes back to 1931).[38] In this paper he defines what he calls the semantic function of the word. He conceives it as a certain degree of notionality or, respectively, interjectionality of the semanteme [i.e., of the basic morpheme of the word, J. V.]; this degree comes to light in a smaller or greater emotional coloring of the content of the word. The emotional coloring stands in inverse ratio to the degree of notionality: the higher the former, the lower the latter, and *vice versa*. In Kořínek's opinion, it is in this way that one can reconcile the two trends coexisting in language, namely the arbitrariness of the phonic elements composing words and, on the other hand, the expressivity (in Kořínek's term, "the symbolic value") of the same phonic elements.

It can thus hardly be doubted that both the synchronically foreign and the expressively emotional elements of language are often signalled by particular phonic features which are governed by regularities that not only differ from those governing the synchronically domestic elements of language, but are often found to directly contradict those regularities. It is, of course, quite comprehensible that this should be so: it is only the sharp contrast of the two types of regularities that can serve as a clear signal that the speaker is shifting from one kind of approach to the extra-

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lingual reality to the other—in terms of stylistics, that he is shifting from the unmarked, i.e. purely communicative style, to the marked style, whether the "marked status" is to be interpreted as strong emotiveness or—as in the case of synchronistic foreignisms—is indicative of the intention of the speaker to transpose the communication to a higher, less common level, to what may be referred to as "exalted style."

Here again, it is worth pointing out that this signalling of the marked stylistic approach is by no means confined to the phonic level of language alone, but that phenomena of analogous kind can also be discovered on higher language levels. A very interesting instance of such signalling of emotional approach on the higher levels is supplied by the phenomena of gender in Modern English. As is commonly known, nouns referring to animate beings are masculine or feminine according to the sex of the denoted individual, while nouns referring to inanimate beings are classified as neuter. This is the basic rule which, of course, admits of some exceptions. Some of these exceptions are purely traditional, motivated by the usage of Latin or French (the names of countries and ships being feminine, etc.), and thus are of little significance. There is, however, another type of exception which is not traditional but very much alive and linguistically most significant. In this other type, nouns denoting inanimate objects are treated as feminine or, less frequently, as masculine. The first shift of gender is especially noticed in speaking about objects with which the speaker has been intimately familiar (for instance, a driver may use it when speaking about his car, a pilot about his plane, and generally a worker about a favorite tool); obviously, the use of the feminine gender here signals a positive, emotional approach to the object referred to, in fact, a sort of endearment. On the other hand, if that object strikes us as uncomfortably big, clumsy and unwieldy, the other shift may occur, in which the noun referring to that object is classified as masculine. Here the use of an unusual gender clearly signals a negative emotional approach. But these

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shifts are not confined to names denoting inanimate objects—they can also be applied to names denoting animate beings. Not infrequently we are faced in ModE with the use of the neuter pronoun *it* referring to nouns denoting living individuals. This use may be colored either negatively (displeasure) or positively (endearment), so that there is no straight differentiation between the two approaches in the form itself of the pronoun used for reference purposes. Indeed there cannot be, because there is only one gender, neuter, left for signalling the marked stylistic approach—the masculine and the feminine genders being used for signalling the unmarked approach. Thus, unlike the situation in regard to inanimate objects (where two genders are available for the marked stylistic approach, and thus their functions can be further specified into positive and negative kinds), no such further specification is feasible in referring to animate beings.[39]

The above remarks conclude what can be said here about the phonology of the word (and some issues of the higher levels that could be clarified by applying to them methods developed in phonology). A very few remarks are now due about the phonology of the sentence. This field was mainly the domain of Trubetzkoy and Karcevskij. The former of the two did an important piece of work in his research on what he calls "Grenzsignale" (limiting signals) in his *Grundzüge*, by pointing out phonic phenomena which signal limits of sentences, words and even morphemes. In some languages, the word-stress, stabilized on this or that syllable of the word, provides an obvious signal of the kind (as, for instance, in Czech, Polish and French). But there are also specific *phonemic* signals which may reliably reveal the presence or absence of word-limits. A notable instance is furnished by the already quoted ModE phonemes |h| and |ŋ|: the former signals the presence of the word or morphemic limit immediately in front of it; the latter, on the contrary, signals the absence of such a limit (Trubetzkoy distinguishes here what he calls the positive and the negative limiting signals). The practical importance of such signals for the process of decoding the utterances is quite obvious and therefore

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any phonological description of language must carefully ascertain and describe them.[40]

Karcevskij, unlike Trubetzkoy, was mainly interested in research on the intonation of the sentence; he wrote an extensive paper on that subject,[41] in which he starts from the commonly known fact that the falling intonation (characterized by the "cadence") signals the completion of the sentence-utterance, while the rising intonation (characterized by the "anti-cadence") signals that the sentence utterance has not been completed and is to be continued. If the two kinds of intonation are phonologically contrasted, the rising species is classed as the unmarked, and the falling as the marked member of the opposition. Karcevskij analyzed in many details the various intonation species, especially such as occur in sentence-utterances of relatively complex grammatical structures (see, for example, the asymmetric intonation, signalling inserted sentences which are, so to speak, shifted into the background of the sentence; further, the enumerative intonation, and some others). Oddly enough, Karcevskij's remarkable paper, very rich in documentary examples taken especially from Russian, French, and German, but partly also from English and Czech, did not stimulate, as one might have expected, any detailed research work on the intonation of specific languages; not until the mid-fifties was the subject re-examined by a younger member of the Prague group, František Daneš, who devoted a Czech monograph to Czech sentence intonation.[42] Especially to be stressed is the fact that Daneš points out the important role played by sentence intonation in the functional sentence perspective, especially the signalling by intonation center of what the Prague group calls rheme (i.e., "comment," the main item of information contributed by the given sentence-utterance; see further below, p. 89f).

The above brief comment on the work done in the Prague group in the field of sentence phonology brings to a close our chapter discussing phonological issues. One might take exception to the chapter's excessive length; this, however, simply reflects the fact that it was precisely in phonology that the prewar Prague

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group worked most and that it was in phonology that some of the main Prague theses had to be tested before they could find application to higher language levels. This other application, of distinctly more modest proportions, will have our attention in the following chapters.

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IV

Problems of Morphonology and Morphology

It has been customary to call the language levels lying above the phonic by the term "grammatical." Of them, the closest to the phonic level is clearly the level commonly referred to as morphological. The morpheme is generally defined as the smallest, fundamental unit of this level. In the definition of the Prague group, again in 1931, the morpheme is defined as "a part of the word which, in a number of words, has the same formal function and is indivisible into smaller parts endowed by that function."[1] In Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge* the semantic side of the morpheme is underlined more expressly. There, the morpheme is defined as "a complex of phonemes which occurs in a large number of words and is found to be linked with the same material or formal meaning" (page 225).

Before, however, we take up the discussion of morphological work done by the Prague scholars, it seems imperative to say a few words about *morphonology*. The name of this discipline, coined by Trubetzkoy, is a shortened form of morpho-phonology, the discipline that deals with the phonological structure of morphemes (cf. *Projet*, page 321).[2] Under this heading, then, falls not only the examination of the extent of the morphemes (that is, the ascertaining of the number of phonemes implementing[3] the morphemes of the given language) but also the proportional share of the vocalic and consonantal phonemes in this function, and

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finally, the establishment of the morphonemes of that language. This term is applied to those cases in which a morpheme does not display an exactly identical phonological implementation in all the words in which it can be found. Thus, for instance, the ModE morpheme of the verb "to keep" can be found to exist in two phonemic implementations, namely |ki:p| and |kep|; in other words, the middle position is sometimes occupied by the phoneme |i:|, at other times by |e|. These two alternating phonemes, in view of their analogous functions in the implementations of one and the same morpheme, are classed by Trubetzkoy with one and the same morphoneme.

The concept of the morphoneme supplies another interesting example of how, for a time, some psychologistic bias survived in the Prague approach, especially in the Trubetzkoyan conceptions. The earliest definition of the morphoneme dates from 1929. In the theses presented to the first congress of Slavicists the morphoneme was defined as "a complex image (*idée complexe*) of two or more phonemes capable of mutual replacement, according to conditions of morphological structure, inside one and the same morpheme." (As an example was quoted the Russian morphoneme *k/č* in *ruka* "hand"—*ručnoj* "manual.")[4] It is remarkable that this psychologistic bias was to survive even in the *Projet* of 1931, where, in other definitions, a marked effort can be observed to discard the psychologistic apparatus inherited from Baudouin's and Ščerba's approaches. The morphoneme is still defined there as "a complex idea of all (two or more) members of an alternation." Yet even here one can easily remove the psychologistic elements from the definition and thus make it more workable; one can redefine the morphoneme as "a set of phonemes functioning in a given phonemic segment of the morpheme in all phonemic implementations of that morpheme."[5]

It is perhaps not necessary to explain what we mean by the phonemic segment: a morpheme has as many phonemic segments as there are phonemes by which it is implemented; in case of a morphonemic alternation this alternation takes place in a specific

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phonemic segment (or in more specific segments) of the given morpheme (in the case of ModE |ki:p|:|kep| in its second segment; in the case of Russian |ruk|:|ruč| in the third segment). Perhaps more important is the insistence, in this definition of ours, on the fact that morphemes become implemented by phonemes, more exactly, by established phonemic sequences (a special case being that such a sequence contains only one phoneme or even none, but this can be left aside at the present moment), which, from the functional viewpoint, may be denoted as allomorphs of the morphemes.

It can hardly be doubted that research done in terms of morphology can prove very helpful in attempts at characterologies of specific languages. The first language to be characterized from the morphonological point of view was again Russian, whose morphonological description was presented by Trubetzkoy himself.[6] Much less has been done, however, for other languages; only very recently a useful list of Czech morphonemes was made by M. Dokulil.[7]

Much more work, of course, remains to be done in this field than has been done so far. Fortunately, the past decade has witnessed a remarkable revival of interest in problems of morphonology; this has been due especially to the generativist and transformationist approach to problems of grammar, an approach in which the concept of morphoneme plays a very important part, so important indeed that in it the phoneme is bypassed and considered unnecessary, in view of the fact that the generativists after establishing the morphonemic make up of their strings, proceed to "rewrite" the morphonemes by concrete sounds found in the phonetic implementations of these strings.[8]

The other recent trend in linguistic thinking that has substantially contributed to the revival of interest in morphonology is the stratificational approach by Sydney M. Lamb and his colleagues (especially H. A. Gleason and C. F. Hockett). In this approach due place is reserved for both morphonemes and phonemes. The former (in Lamb's terminology, morphons) are the smallest ele-

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ments of the morphemic stratum of language; the latter belong to the phonemic stratum and are defined as implementations of morphons (for particulars, see Gleason's paper quoted above, Chapter Three, note 21, and also S. M. Lamb's paper "On Alternation, Transformation, Realization and Stratification," also found in the same *Monograph Series*, volume 17, pages 105-122).[9] As already suggested, Lamb's approach here appears to be in harmony with the basic tenets of the Prague theory (one might even call it a more or less consistent development of these tenets).

Of great interest in morphonological research has been and will be the establishment of morphonemic differences within one and the same language, between inflexion and derivation, and, of course, the morphonological differences marking off the synchronically domestic and foreign elements of the word-stock (especially in those languages in which the two lexical strata are so sharply differentiated as in English).

Having explained the meaning attributed by the Prague group to the terms morphonology and morphoneme we now proceed to give some informative remarks on the approach of the Prague people to problems of morphology. We have already pointed out that specific Prague contributions to morphological problems were much less numerous than concrete contributions dealing with phonological issues. In addition to this, the approaches by Prague linguists to morphological issues have been, as a rule, more differentiated than the analogous approaches to phonological issues: individual scholars differed in their choice of problems and in the choice of methods employed in attacking these problems.

Two important contributions to general problems of structural morphology made by Czech scholars deserve to be mentioned here. Passing attention has already been paid above to V. Skalička's attempt at establishing a workable method of typology of languages.[10] This attempt has been based on a systematic confrontation of morphemes, the smallest elements of the phonic (or graphic) form of language, and what Skalička calls semes (in German, *Semata*), the smallest elements of the semantic content

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of language. In one type of languages, commonly denoted as agglutinative, each seme is expressed by a separate morpheme, while in another type, usually called inflexional, one morpheme can express more than one seme (see, for example, the Latin form *vir-ī*, in which the morpheme *-ī* expresses at least two semes, the plural and the nominative case. (There are, of course, other types of languages, which cannot be discussed here.) According to the manner in which semes and morphemes are found to mutually correspond, languages can be reliably classified from the typological point of view. Skalička stresses, however, that no "pure" types of languages can ever be found, although, of course, one of the existing types is regularly found to be predominant in the given language. Yet, apart from this dominant type, one usually finds in the given language a number of admixtures of relations that regularly characterize some other type (or types). To give an example, Czech is essentially an inflexional language, but some of its features are undoubtedly of an agglutinative nature (for instance, the formation of the imperative mood; see similar findings of Jakobson's in the analysis of the Russian imperative, also quoted above). It should be added that Skalička's conception of linguistic typology, going back to as early as 1935, has been applied by him, so far, to Czech, English, Hungarian, Turkish and some Bantu languages[11] with a number of fairly interesting results.

The other noteworthy contribution to general problems of morphology is Trnka's early paper of 1932.[12] Perhaps the most important idea voiced in this paper is the establishment of the concept of "morphological exponents," which are defined as "all formal expedients that are able to express a morphological function in the language." They can be of four categories: (1) phonological (as in the alternation of vocalic phonemes, as ModE *sing–sang–sung;* of consonants, such as ModE *imprudent–imprudence*); (2) synthetic (Trnka also speaks here of "modifying phonemes," as in *be*-comes, come-*ly*, come-*s*, com-*ing*); (3) analytic (for example, word-order, word-groups, auxiliary words, grammatical concord); (4) compounds (that is, groups of words expressed synthetically).

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Trnka aptly points out that not infrequently more morphological exponents combine to function as one (see, for instance, the ModE plural form *lives* [laivz] as opposed to singular *life* [laif] where exponents of the above types (1) and (2) are seen to combine; in the so-called ModE possessive case, the addition of *'s* is used in combination with word-order, *i.e.*, with the position of the possessive case before the noun that is determined by it (in other words, one is faced here with the combination of the exponent types (2) and (3), etc.).

It has been noted that Trnka's paper remained on a rather general level;[13] two more concrete specimens of structuralist and functionalist approach to the morphological level of language, however, were printed in the same volume of 1932. Their authors were the Russian members of the group, each of whom tried to analyze some specific section of the morphological level of Russian. While Karcevskij was concerned with the structure of the Russian substantive,[14] Jakobson took up the problems connected with the Russian verb.[15] As Jakobson's paper appears to us to be more typical of the approach of the Prague group, we want to give it some attention here. It will be found useful to do so because it was in this paper that Jakobson drew an important distinguishing line between the phonological and morphological correlative relation.

Just as in phonology, so also in morphology, one should distinguish between the two members of the correlative pair by denoting one of them as a marked, the other one as an unmarked member of the pair. But there is an essential difference between the signalling capacities of the oppositions on the two language levels. In phonology, as has been shown above, the marked member of the opposition is characterized by the presence of a certain phonic feature; the unmarked member, on the contrary, by its absence. In the morphological correlation, however, the mutual relation of the two members of the correlative pair is more complex. While the marked member of the opposition again signals the presence of a certain feature (this time, a grammatical one), the unmarked member does not signal the absence of that feature, but rather

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signals nothing about its presence. In other words, the unmarked member does not signal whether that particular feature is present or not. It can, of course, happen that in some specific situation it turns out to be necessary to assert the absence of that feature and that the unmarked member is used for this purpose, but this is only a special case of the use of that member, a special case which must not be generalized upon. As an example, Jakobson quotes the Russian word *télka* (calf), which signals the feminine gender, while the form *telënok* does not signal the gender of the animal, even if it is formally classified as masculine. "If I say *telënok*," urges Jakobson, "then I do not determine if one has to do with a male or female specimen of the animal. But if someone asks me, *'Eto télka?'* (Is it a female calf?) then I answer, *'Net, telënok,'* (No, it's a male calf), and here the masculine reference becomes predicated, that is, the word is used in its narrower meaning." This important methodological device is then applied by Jakobson to the Russian verb.

The classes of the verbs are formed by applying two correlations of verbal aspect and two correlations of verbal voices (*genera verbi*). The aspectual correlations are (1) perfectivity (marked)—imperfectivity (unmarked), and, inside the imperfective group, (2) iterativeness (marked)—non-iterativeness (unmarked); this other correlation functions only within the domain of the preterite tense. The verbal voice correlations are intransitivity of an action (marked) vs. non-intransitivity (unmarked member of the opposition); within the former category, again, we find the opposition "passivity" (marked)—"reflexiveness." It is impossible to analyze here in detail all Jakobson's arguments—for particulars the reader must be referred to Jakobson's paper itself. We only want to mention the author's analysis of the indicative mood as particularly significant. It contains one correlation of tense (preterite [marked] —present [unmarked]). This means that the preterite tense states than an action took place in the past, while the present tense, taken in itself, is indefinite as to the time-setting (we know of many instances of *praesens historicum* in some languages!). Out of

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the two numbers found in the Russian verb, the plural is the marked category, while the singular is unmarked (we can recall many instances in which the form of the singular can substitute for the plural).

Very interesting but somewhat disputable is Jakobson's thesis that in the domain of Russian personal forms we find the correlation "first person" (marked) vs. "the form which does not express the pertinence of the action to the speaking person." This latter function is performed, in Jakobson's conception, by the second person, whose "general connotation" in Russian is well known. Jakobson, of course, believes that the application of this pronoun to address the person spoken to is only one of its partial, special applications, not its basic meaning. It is this thesis that has always met with some opposition in the Prague Circle; the rest of Jakobson's system, however, appears to be very convincing, and it has greatly stimulated research work in structural grammar.

It should be added that as early as the mid-thirties, Jakobson also worked out his analysis of the system of the Russian declensional cases, which he revised later on, after World War II, and which, too, proved stimulating, even if some of Jakobson's arguments, again, were not universally accepted.[16]

Among the Czech and Slovak scholars who worked systematically on the morphological descriptions of their languages should be mentioned especially Eugen Pauliny, at present Professor at the University of Bratislava, to whom we owe a systematic description of the Slovak verb,[17] and Miloš Dokulil, of the Institute of the Czech language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague, who wrote a delicate analysis of the tendencies in the verbal system of Standard ModCzech.[18] Most recently, František Kopečný, of the Institute of Languages and Literatures in Brno, and Igor Němec, of the Institute of the Czech Language in Prague, subjected to fine analyses the aspectual system of the Czech verb;[19] finally, F. V. Mareš, of the Institute of Languages and Literatures in Prague, worked out an original analysis of the Proto-Slavic case system.[20] It is also fair to admit, first, that most of these contribu-

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tions could only emerge after World War II, when the teachings of the Prague School had penetrated deep enough to become the common property of the younger generation of Czech and Slovak linguistic specialists, and second, that ground for these contributions had been prepared already by some prewar minor contributions of Havránek on the problems of time and aspect in the Slavic verbal system and by the same scholar's university classes (some of the younger scholars mentioned above, especially Dokulil and Kopečný, had been Havránek's university students).[21]

Finally, a few words are due here on Mathesius' approach to morphology. In his conception, morphology was regarded as a relatively less important part of grammar; it was to be concerned exclusively with the establishing of formal patterns operating both in what he called functional onomatology and in functional syntax. Even so, many of the crucial problems of morphology were, in fact, included in Mathesius' functional onomatology (such as, problems of gender, number, verbal tense, mood, etc.). More information about Mathesius' conception of grammar can be obtained from one of his English papers written in the mid-thirties.[22]

This is as much as can be said, within the narrow limits of the present survey, about the structuralist and functionalist conception of morphology, as it has been reflected in the papers of the members of the Prague group. One can add that despite the relative scarcity of papers and books falling under this heading, the line followed by the Prague linguistic research in this domain has been fairly consistent and has led to some not insignificant results.

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V

Problems of Syntax

As regards syntax we have already pointed out in our introductory chapters that perhaps the most important Prague contribution to syntactic studies has been Mathesius' functionalist approach to the sentence.

This approach, consistently following from Mathesius' over-all functional treatment of the facts of language, is clearly seen from his definition of the sentence which he formulated as early as 1924.[1] In Mathesius' conception, "the sentence is an elementary speech utterance, through which the speaker (or writer) reacts to some reality, concrete or abstract, and which in its formal character appears to realize grammatical possibilities of the respective language and to be subjectively, that is, from the point of view of the speaker (or writer), complete." It will be noted that Mathesius intentionally disregards the genetic problem of the sentence (in other words, he is not interested in the psychological problem of how the sentence originates in the mind of the speaker) but centers on the functional problem, i.e. on what the sentence is for—roughly speaking, on its communicative function (communicative, it should be added, in the broadest sense of the term). At the same time, the definition reveals that Mathesius does not neglect the formal attributes of the sentence (see its reference to the realization of grammatical possibilities and to subjective completeness).

Mathesius' functional approach led him to the investigation of how different languages syntactically express one and the same

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extra-lingual reality. In his posthumously published synthetic analysis of ModE (see above, Chapter I, note 6) he compares, from the indicated point of view, ModE and ModCzech, to find that the favorite form of predication in ModE tends very strongly to the nominal patterns,[2] while the typical Czech predicational pattern is predominantly verbal. He also called attention to types of nominal sentences to which no equivalents could be found in Czech (and, for that matter, in any Slavic language), as for instance, *Much use, that!*, and *Only the tea-things, sir.*[3]

Mathesius' most valuable contribution in the syntactic domain will remain, however, his attempt to build up what is often called the functional analysis of the sentence (some scholars, however, reserve a special, suprasyntactic level for the facts involved). Mathesius' approach here envisages the sentence-utterance from the viewpoint of the information conveyed by it. Now we usually say that this approach establishes the functional sentence perspective. Viewed from this angle, any sentence-utterance is seen to consist of two parts. The first of them, now usually termed the *theme*, is that part of the utterance which refers to a fact or facts already known from the preceding context, or to facts that may be taken for granted, and thus does not, or does only minimally, contribute to the information provided by the given sentence-utterance. The other part, now usually called the *rheme*, contains the actual new information to be conveyed by the sentence-utterance and thus substantially enriches the knowledge of the listener or reader. (As already noted, some American linguists use here the terms "topic" and "comment," respectively.)

Again, as already noted, this distinction is not really new; it really covers roughly the same field as the older analysis of the sentence-utterance into the so-called psychological subject and psychological predicate (see, for example, the well-known theories of Georg von der Gabelentz).[4] This may be true, but Mathesius' merit lies in the fact that by replacing the psychologistic terms with those of functional linguistics, he made the whole conception really workable—it was to become an efficient tool in the comparative

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study of different languages or of different stages of one and the same language. Consequently, this approach has been able to make a valuable contribution to the linguistic characterology of the compared language systems. We want to give evidence for this by summarizing some results of Mathesius' comparison between English and Czech.

Particular stress should be laid here on the fact that although in many instances a theme is expressed by the grammatical subject, this is not always necessarily so. Even in those languages in which the word order in the sentence has been fixed relatively firmly—as in English—one can fairly frequently find sentences like *This argument I can't follow, That book I haven't got in my library,* in which the part of the theme is played by the grammatical object. It does not really matter which of the grammatical sentence elements performs the function of the theme; what really does matter is that this element represents that part of the statement which presents no (or minimum) new information—usually it has been already contained in the preceding context or can be simply taken for granted.[5]

Another important fact is that the normal sequence of the two elements in the functional sentence perspective is such that the theme invariably precedes the rheme. This, of course, is in full agreement with the general laws of the psychology of learning: new elements of information can be successfully acquired only if they are organically incorporated into the network of elements known from before. This requirement of the normal sequence (T—R) is easily met in those languages in which the word order is relatively very free, as for instance, in the Slavic languages. Note the Russian sentence *Pápa prinës ëlku* "Daddy has brought a Christmas tree," in which *Pápa* is clearly the theme, the rest of the sentence the rheme. But the same sentence may have at least two other, different kinds of word order: *Ëlku prinës pápa* "It is Daddy who has brought the Christmas tree," or *Ëlku pápa prinës* "Daddy has *brought* the Christmas tree" (i.e., he has not just sent it, etc.). These examples show that the Russian word order

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is a very flexible tool for the expression of the functional sentence perspective (and the same is true of word orders in other Slavic languages, including Czech).

In English, however, the situation is basically different. Here the grammatical rules determining the order of words in the sentence have been rather firmly fixed, so that the above-quoted Russian sentences could not be translated into English with a word order parallel to that found in the original Russian wording. This is why we had to use, in one case, the periphrasis "It was Daddy who . . . ," and in the other case, to make use of the sentence stress (Daddy has *brought* the Christmas tree). These are some of the means which can help reconcile the antinomy that exists in English between the requirements of the functional sentence perspective which insists on the theme being placed before the rheme, and the requirements of the grammatical word order which reserves the first place in the sentence for the grammatical subject.

But, as Mathesius has shown, there is another, very effective means that can reconcile the above-mentioned antinomy and that has been developed in English to a considerable degree. This is the use of passive voice. The same Russian sentence *Ëlku prinës pápa* might also be translated *The Christmas tree has been brought by Daddy*. It has been often pointed out that there is a great predilection in English for the passive sentence structure, while in the Slavic languages there is an obvious disinclination to its use, the sentence structure being there prevailingly active. One of the reasons lying behind this difference may be precisely the various methods employed by the two language types in abolishing the antinomy often arising between the requirement of the functional sentence perspective and the word order rules valid in the given language, and, of course, the degree of that antinomy in the concerned language.

Another very important conclusion arrived at by Mathesius and closely connected with the above difference in the use of the passive in English and the Slavic languages is concerned with the different functions performed in them by the subject of the sen-

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tence. While in Czech (and other Slavic languages) the subject still denotes, prevailingly, an agent, in English its function has mostly been changed into that of implementing the theme of the sentence utterance. Viewed from this angle, the dislike of Slavic languages for the passive voice will be more easily understood, because the agentlike function of the grammatical subject is in obvious contradiction to the passive tenor of the sentence. On the other hand, if the main function of the grammatical subject in an English sentence is no longer to express an agent but simply the theme, this conception of the subject goes equally well both with active and with passive predications.

The above observations show that the theory of the functional sentence perspective is able to account for some differences in languages that so far could not be easily explained and had to be just taken for granted. But there are other interesting differences between the languages concerning us here that can be traced back to the different conceptions of the grammatical subject in them. Thus, for example, ModE almost completely lacks subjectless sentences denoting physical or psychical feelings both pleasant and unpleasant, while in Czech and other Slavic languages such subjectless sentences are abundant. English regularly expresses these feelings by two-member sentences containing the subject as well as the predicate—see, for instance, *I like it, I am sorry, I am cold, I am warm*. In Czech, corresponding sentences are formed on the pattern (non-existent in ModE) **me likes*, **me is sorrow*, **me is cold*, **me is warm* (*Líbí se mi, Je mi líto, Je mi zima, Je mi teplo*), i.e., by means of a subjectless clause employing the *dativus commodi* (or, *incommodi*). The most interesting point here, however, is that the same pattern as is found in Czech used to be common in Old English (cf. *mē līciaþ, mē is cealde*, etc.) and that this pattern only gradually ceded to the pattern now prevailing in ModE (in Chaucer we can still find, even if as an archaism, constructions like *me lyketh*). It appears, thus, that the change of pattern may have been due to the abandonment by the subject of the function of agent (which is still upheld in Czech) and to the acquirement by

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it of the thematic function as its principal task. It appears obvious, that is to say, that in the functional analysis of the sentences referring to mental or physical states the person who is the subject of these states is taken for granted as a basis of the statement, and is thus best fitted to serve as a theme. And it appears equally obvious that such mental or physical states cannot be interpreted as actions of the person experiencing them, and that, therefore, this person cannot serve as the subject of the sentence in those languages in which the principal task of the subject is to denote an agent.

It should be emphasized that we have been able to single out here only some of the important conclusions which were reached by Mathesius in developing his principle of the functional sentence perspective[6] by way of synchronistic comparison of Modern English and Modern Czech. For more information one should refer to Mathesius' paper of 1928 (see above, Chapter One, note 5). All that remains to be said is that Mathesius' ideas on the functional sentence perspective and some other of his notions have been further developed in the latest decade by a younger generation of Czech linguists, especially F. Daneš, M. Dokulil and K. Hausenblas for Czech, Jan Firbas for English, Ed. Beneš for German, Jos. Dubský for Spanish, and P. Novák for Albanian.[7] The influence of Mathesius is here frequently combined with that of Karcevskij, especially with the latter's Saussurian conception of the syntagm, stressing the inner links ascertainable between individual sentence elements (subject–predicate, attribute–noun, etc.).

The above-outlined difference in the nature of the grammatical subject in English and Czech (and, of course, Russian) has a number of other interesting consequences, out of which at least one deserves notice here. The conception of the Czech grammatical subject as an agent implies not only a dislike of passive verbal forms but an abundant use of active finite verb forms. As the passive verb forms are built up, both in English and in Czech, on the model "*to be* + past participle," the necessary consequence of the dislike of the passive in ModCzech is that nominal ex-

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pressions are found there much more rarely than in English, where the use of the passive is very widespread. This difference in the basic trend of sentence construction, verbal in Czech vs. nominal in English, already noted above, is remarkably borne out by another interesting trend, ascertainable in the sentence structure of the two languages: a rather strong tendency appears to exist in English to replace dependent clauses by nominal, verbless phrases, while in Czech such replacements are rather rare, the dependent clauses with their finite verbs being more popular there. We denote this ModE tendency by Mathesius' term "complex condensation of the sentence," and the nominal elements replacing the dependent clauses (and thus achieving this condensation) we call condensors. The most frequently used condensors appear to be the present participle, the infinitive and the gerund. As an example may be quoted the ModE everyday question *Would you mind my opening the window?* consisting of one single clause; the corresponding Czech question is a complex sentence consisting of two clauses: *Dovolíte, abych otevřel okno?* (literally: "Will you mind, if I open the window?"). For more details, see our treatise quoted above, Chapter Four, note 22 (and, of course, Mathesius' book quoted in Chapter One, note 6).

Finally, let us register in this syntactic chapter a recent interesting attempt by F. Daneš to build up a theoretical procedure generating Czech sentences. Though it has an aim analogous to that of N. Chomsky's approach, the procedure established by Daneš differs from the Chomskyan in being based on the traditions of Slavic syntactic research and, to a high degree, of the Prague group (Mathesius, Karcevskij). Its main tool is the so-called sentence pattern, which is defined by the author as "a syntactic structure of the kind that converts a sequence of words into a minimal communicative unit (an utterance) even outside the framework of connected discourse, that is, even when it has been taken out of its settings (the situation and the context)." By applying a number of various operations, the sentence pattern is then developed into a concrete sentence-utterance.[8]

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So much could be said here about those contributions on problems of syntax which try to assert the structuralist and functionalist approach outlined by the Prague group, especially by V. Mathesius and his followers in the late twenties and mid-thirties of this century. Again one can say that even if the actual number of books and chapters discussing these issues cannot be compared with the number of books and papers dealing with problems of phonology, there can be hardly any doubt that the papers frequently open new perspectives, capable of contributing very abundantly to the linguistic characterology of the examined languages.

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VI

The Standard Language and the Aesthetic Function of Language

Even in this very brief survey of the activities of the Prague group some remarks are due about its contribution to the theory of the standard language. In the Neogrammarian group modern standard languages were, as a rule, not considered worth studying. Perhaps the only question which the Neogrammarian linguists regarded as worth answering was which of the local dialects had served as the basis of the standard literary language. This was in complete harmony with the prevailing interests of the period when attention was centered much more in the historical origin of the facts of a given language than in their functioning, in the purpose for which they were to be used. And it is especially the merit of one of the oldest members of the Prague group, Bohuslav Havránek, that he proposed to examine the standard language as a tool for some specific purpose. This purpose is, of course, manifold, because the standard language is stylistically differentiated according to its various functions. In his lecture given to the Fourth International Congress of Linguists, held in Copenhagen in 1936, and published in its *Proceedings*,[1] Havránek distinguishes four functions of standard literary languages: the communicative, the technically practical, the technically theoretical, and the aesthetic. Across this classification runs another important stylistic distinction, according to

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the goals and forms of the utterances, namely, one differentiating them according to the oral and written function.

Each of the separate functions, it should be pointed out, has at its disposal some specific means provided by the norm of the language. It should be added that Havránek lays particular stress on the norm of the language. He, however, makes a special point of distinguishing between the actual norm of the standard language, and its concrete codification in textbooks or other manuals. The norm is always present in language, even if no codification of it has been provided for: a norm in this conception is not an exclusive feature of the standard language alone; in fact, all dialects, both regional and social, possess their own specific norms.

Havránek does not regard the conservative character of a standard literary language as the principal feature differentiating it from the popular dialects, as has often been done. It is the vocabulary of the standard literary language which most clearly differentiates it from the other non-literary language structures. The richness and multiple differentiation of this vocabulary cannot be explained away by "conservative" tendencies—on the contrary, many of its items have emerged only recently, with the increasing communicative tasks and with the ever growing functional differentiation of the standard language.[2]

It should be noted that, in principle, Havránek's views on these problems were already formulated as early as 1929 in the *Thèses* submitted to the First Congress of Slavicists in Prague in which a special chapter was dedicated to the problems of the standard literary language (see *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 27-29; also in *PSRL*, pp. 43-45), a chapter whose author was Havránek himself. There he stresses that it is the very cultural and civilizational role of the standard literary language which is responsible for the enlargement and intellectualization of its vocabulary. But there is not only the necessity to express oneself on subject matter which has no direct relation to everyday life, there is also the need to express oneself on the well-known facts of everyday life in a precise and systematic manner; both these needs result in the coining of con-

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ceptual words as well as in the creation of words denoting logical abstractions, and, ultimately, in arriving at "more precise definitions of logical categories" by using for this purpose means supplied by the language.

This intellectualizing tendency of the standard literary language, however, is not the sole factor determining its development. As Havránek pointed out in his 1936 paper, the above-mentioned tendency is opposed by another one which is due to the popularization of the standard literary language and which is rather directed at the preservation of the norm; in other words, the demand voiced that the standard language be easily understood opposes the tendencies toward widening the gap between the standard literary language and the popular dialects. At the same time, of course, the important function of the literary language has always been to serve as a kind of *koiné*, a common language that should bridge the gap always ascertainable between the various kinds of the vernacular (a point already stressed in the *Thèses* of 1929). This, along with some other functions of the standard literary language is also responsible for the influence exercised on the phonological and grammatical structures of the standard language, e.g., for some apparently conservative features of these structures (for particulars, see Havránek's paper in *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 106ff.—also in *PSRL*, pp. 252ff.).

Havránek also pointed out that as long as the literary language could remain the exclusive property of a relatively thin layer of the population, conditions were very favorable to the use, in the function of the literary standard, of a language other than the native, but with a long cultural tradition and capable of covering large geographical areas (see, for instance, in the Middle Ages, the function of Latin in Central and Western Europe, and of Old Church Slavic in Eastern Europe). After, however, the use of the literary language spread to wider classes of population, these languages had to be replaced by new standards, based on local vernaculars and covering, as a rule, much narrower geographical areas.

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But the most important conclusion of Havránek's analysis of the problems is of a still different category. He points out that the *laissez-faire* attitude to problems of the standard literary language, so frequently found in European linguistics up to the third decade of the twentieth century, is no longer tenable. In his opinion, the linguist not only may but should interfere with the process of the normalization of language. He must be able to suggest which elements of the system of language should be given preference, as better functionally suited for that system, over others which lack this functional justification. And especially, the linguist may give his support to the differentiation of language means which is essential for more efficient functional specialization. As a concrete example can be quoted some elements of Modern Czech which used to be condemned by traditional linguistics as not having a sufficient pedigree in the older stages of the language, as having been formed against the prevailing rules of Czech word-formation, or even as having been coined on some foreign model, mainly German. The members of the Prague group made a point of stressing that these historical objections count for very little. If, in fact, such historically questionable items of the Czech word-stock are functionally useful, if they meet the needs and wants of the stylistic stratification of the language, their existence in the language is fully justified and cannot be open to doubt.[3]

In conclusion, we should like to add a few words on the Prague activities in the domain of poetic language, which is rather closely connected with problems of style. The foremost representative of the Prague group in this field was, especially in the inter-war period, the Czech aesthetician Jan Mukařovský. His original thesis was that poetic language differed substantially from communicative language, because in the former the attention of the writer or the reader is not concentrated on *what* is being communicated but rather on *how* the communication is done. In the Prague conception, the attention of the reader and his aesthetic feelings are continually roused by what is called "l'actualisation des moyens de la langue" (in English, P. L. Garvin uses the term "foregrounding of

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the means of language"), by which is meant such use of language means as is able to arouse attention by its unusual, disautomatized make-up. (As a concrete example of such use may be mentioned a living, non-worn-off poetic metaphor.) Mukařovský himself used to define foregrounding as an aesthetically intended deformation of the components of language (Garvin replaces the French term "déformation" by "distortion"). It should be added that later on Mukařovský subjected to his analysis not only foregroundings in the domain of the poetical language but also in the domain of the subject matter forming the content of the poetical work.

Most writings by Mukařovský were written in Czech and discuss problems of Czech poetical language (the most valuable being his contributions to the history of Czech verse).[4] A number of them have been selected and translated into English by P. L. Garvin, whose *Prague School Reader in Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style* (Washington, 1964) is recommended to those who want to study this branch of the Prague activities more deeply. The *Reader* includes also the writings of some other scholars, among whom Felix Vodička, professor at Prague University, ranks as the most prominent literary scholar of the Prague group of today. It should also be added that a number of valuable contributions to the history of Czech verse were made by R. Jakobson, K. Horálek, and Josef Hrabák, Professor of Brno University.

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VII

Problems of Written Language and Orthography

The functionalist and structural approach can also throw new light on problems of written utterances and orthography. All that can be done in this brief survey is to summarize very briefly the conclusions at which we arrived in an earlier paper of ours discussing this subject (see above, Chapter One, note 9).

Just as spoken utterances are admittedly implementations of a definite norm, common to a given language community, so written utterances implement a definite written norm of that same language (the definitions of the two norms are given above, Chapter One, note 9). Although the written norm originated much later than the spoken norm—and, indeed, in most language communities is still nonexistent—there can be no doubt that, from the functional viewpoint, it occupies a very important place in the life of a community. In some instances the means supplied by it can serve communicative purposes much more efficiently than the means supplied by the corresponding spoken norm, especially when it is felt necessary to obtain a documentary and easily surveyable utterance. It indeed appears that the two norms are, in a sense, mutually complementary as to the situations in which they can be used with maximum proficiency: if it is felt necessary to react in a quick, immediate manner, paying due regard not only to the factual but also to the emotional and volitional aspects of the extralingual reality reacted to, the means supplied by the spoken norm appear more

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appropriate (if, for example, you want to warn someone of an imminent danger, you certainly prefer to warn him in speaking, not in writing); if, on the other hand, one reacts in a manner which should be preserved for documentary purposes and/or is to be found easily surveyable, with stress laid on the purely factual aspect of the extra-lingual reality reacted to, the means of the written norm will be found preferable (if, say, you and your partner want to put down in writing an agreement mutually arrived at, or if a message is too long or too complex to be entrusted to memory by a spoken utterance).

It should be emphatically stressed that the written norm is not to be identified with orthography. The latter is only a sort of bridge leading from the spoken utterances to their written counterparts, a set of rules followed in case one has to put down in writing what has been formulated in speaking. There is also another bridge, leading in the opposite direction, that is, from written to spoken utterances, a set of rules followed if one wants to express in a spoken utterance what has been put down in writing. This set of rules might be termed pronunciation (in a broader sense than the term is commonly used). It is obvious that if the two bridges are to function smoothly, the rules implied by them should not be too complicated. If they are, demands for an orthographic reform are voiced by the users of language, a reform which would make the bridges easier to cross.

It is very often taken for granted that the most suitable system of orthography would be one based on a systematic correspondence of phonemes and graphemes (i.e. in which a certain phoneme would be systematically recorded by one certain grapheme only.) The interesting point is, however, that in practice it is virtually impossible to find a systematic correspondence of that kind (though some systems of orthography are closer to it than others). What is even more remarkable is the undoubted fact that if such systematic correspondence were to be enforced, the written norm would serve its purpose with less efficiency than it does today, in its "less systematic" state. That this is really so, can be seen by anyone who com-

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pares the "traditional" spellings like *pods, pots, notches* with the "ideally phonemic" spellings |podz, pots, nočiz|, or the four differentiated spellings like *right, rite, write, wright* with the non-differentiated |rait, rait, rait, rait|.

The reason that the "traditional" spellings speak more clearly and distinctly to the eye is obvious: they are more content-orientated than the purely phonemic spelling, in so far that the principle of correspondence on the lowest level of the two norms (i.e. the correspondence of phonemes and graphemes) is interfered with by correspondences on some higher level, especially morphemic or lexemic. Indeed, most of the existing orthographic systems appear to be more or less compromise structures trying to make the best of the advantages offered by correspondences on the lowest and on the higher levels of spoken and written norms.

Clearly, it is the above deviations of orthographic systems from correspondence on the lowest level that make for the often noted tendency towards autonomy characterizing the written norm of language (this formula was used for the first time by A. Artymovyč in his paper recorded above, Chapter One, note 9). It is equally clear that these deviations will be very welcome to those language users who specialize in reading written utterances; on the other hand, those who have to produce them, will find them less welcome. Obviously, the most urgent task of any reformer of the orthographic system should be to find a compromise acceptable to both the reader and the writer. One thing, however, appears certain: a consistent, mechanical phonemicization of the existing orthographic systems would be no way out of the existing difficulties. (For more details, see our paper referred to above, Chapter One, note 9.)

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VIII

Some Future Perspectives

In the preceding chapters we hope we have proved that the Prague group is not only a figure in the history of linguistics but a living body, organically continuing and further developing that approach to the facts of language which in the twenties and thirties of this century was launched by the Prague Linguistic Circle. We also hope we have shown that the structuralist and functionalist approach has lately been intensified by its more consistent and more extensive application to "higher" language levels, with the result that research on those levels and in phonology is now more evenly distributed than in the prewar years. It would be unwise, however, to pretend that nothing has changed in the Prague approach and that the theses of the prewar Prague School have been preserved intact until the present day.

On the question of what exactly has changed in the Prague approach, the best answer will probably be suggested by pointing out the commonly admitted fact that no science in any period of time can develop quite independently from the trends prevailing in the other sciences of the period.[1] It is now obvious to any historian of linguistics that, for example, Schleicher's conception of language as an organism which for a time blossoms, only to wither away at some later period, was inspired by the Darwinian trend then flourishing in biology. The Neogrammarian insistence, again, on the sound-laws admitting of no exceptions was certainly propped up by the successes of "exact" sciences and by the strict

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methodological requirements laid down by positivist philosophy and methodology. The structuralist conception of linguistics in the late twenties and early thirties, in its turn, was undoubtedly co-inspired by the insistence on the mutual relations of the whole and its component parts, so typical of many scientific disciplines of the day (philosophy, psychology, biology, musicology, not to speak of the theory of literature, ethnography, and others). Already at that time, some linguists and philosophers were conscious of the fact.[2]

In the present period, a strong wave of mathematical thinking can be seen to invade not only all natural, but even some social sciences. Stress is laid on the necessity for formalizing to the highest possible degree the rules accounting for the phenomena covered by the given discipline. The method of mathematical models is more and more frequently applied to linguistic data, and algebraic formulations are increasingly found in linguistic papers, much to the dismay of the older generation of linguists, unused to this way of handling language materials. What standpoint, then, should be taken by the Prague linguists, faced with this general situation?

If the Prague linguists are to be true to their traditions they certainly cannot keep their linguistic conception hermetically closed to the trends dominating other sciences today. Indeed, they have never done so, and the mathematical approach to facts of language has never been quite unknown to them: statistical methods were applied by Mathesius to phonological phenomena as early as 1929, and Trnka's phonological statistics of ModE go back to 1935. Moreover it is certainly of interest to recall that in his above-quoted paper of 1948[3] Trnka points out that linguistics "is finding an ally in modern relational logic, worked out by Bertrand Russell; modern logic takes on the part of the leading science. . . . Linguistics may entrust itself to this current without any fears of losing its autonomy, formerly menaced by psychologism, because relational logic and allied currents of thought teach it to rest on its own basis and to start from the minimum number of further unanalyzable prerequisites—in short, provides it . . . only with a model of its procedure" (pp. 76-77). Further on, he mentions the closeness of

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relational logic to the philosophy of mathematics—all this clearly shows that Trnka foresaw, if not the details, certainly the general trend of the linguistics of the period to come.

Even a casual look at the first volume of the revived Prague *Travaux* (*TLP* 1, 1964) will reveal that a number of contributions do not shrink from applying the methods of algebraic linguistics (P. Sgall),[4] and of mathematical models (A. V. Isačenko,[5] L. Doležel[6]); also some other papers use a highly formalized apparatus (F. Daneš,[7] I. Němec,[8] M. Komárek,[9] M. Renský[10]). At the same time, however, in most of these papers one can note obvious effort to arrive at a sort of synthesis of the new methods with the fundamental theses of the Prague school. Let us mention here, in this connection, that, for instance, P. Sgall's paper is remarkably close to S. Lamb's theoretical approach which, as noted in the preceding chapters, reveals some interesting analogies to the Prague pattern.

Still, it should be noted that in some of its points the typical Prague approach seems to be more apt to account for the facts of language, especially of language development,[11] of the non-closed character of the system of language, of the existence of the peripheral phenomena in the language system. All this only gives evidence to the fact that the "traditional" Prague approach can yield its own valuable contribution to the future synthesis, which thus can become a genuine "give and take."[12] And it is only such "give and take" that can ultimately further the progress of linguistic research.

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Notes

I. SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE PRAGUE SCHOOL

1. *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*, 1: *L'École de Prague d' aujourd'hui* (Prague, *ČSAV*, 1964). The first two papers of the volume are of informative character (Josef Vachek, "Prague Phonological Studies Today," pp. 7-20; F. Daneš-J. Vachek, "Prague Studies in Structural Grammar Today") and contain a number of useful bibliographical items. The second volume of the series, to be published in 1966, is in preparation.

2. V. Mathesius, "O potenciálnosti jevů jazykových." Věstník Král, české společnosti nauk, třída filosoficko-historická, 1911. An English translation of the paper, provided by the present writer, was published in 1964 in *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics* [abbreviated herein as *PSRL*] (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1964), pp. 1-32.

3. Although Saussure's *Cours* was published in 1916, its theses could not become more widely known until after the war when, in 1922, a new edition of the book appeared.

4. Zubatý's personality stands out very clearly in the obituary written by Mathesius, "Die Persönlichkeit Josef Zubatýs," published originally in the review *Prager Rundschau* 1, 1931, pp. 239-247, and reprinted in Thomas A. Sebeok's forthcoming volume *Portraits of Linguists*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press. (The same volume contains an obituary of V. Mathesius, written by B. Trnka).

5. The lecture, entitled "On the Linguistic Characterology of Modern English," was published in the *Proceedings* of the said Congress (*Actes du Premier congrès international de Linguistes à la Haye*, 1928), pp. 56-63 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 59-67).

6. Mathesius' posthumously published synthetic work, attempting a linguistic characterology of Modern English, *Obsahový rozbor současné angličtiny na základě obecně linguistickém* [A Functional Analysis

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of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis] (Prague, ČSAV, 1961), was published in Czech but with extensive summaries in English and Russian.

7. V. A. Zvegincev, *Istorija jazykoznanija XIX i XX vekov v očerkach i izvlečenijach*, II[3] (Moscow, 1965), pp. 121-166.

8. To mention only some of them, they were the Russians P. N. Bogatyrev, N. Durnovo, S. Karcevskij, L. V. Kopeckij, and, from the younger generation, A. V. Isačenko; the Ukrainians A. Artymovič, D. Čyževśkyj and others; from the Germans, especially H. Becker and F. Slotty.

9. For more comment on Artymovyč's theory see our paper "Two Chapters on Written English," in *BSE* 1, 1959, pp. 7-38. In this paper we summarized our earlier theses (going back, in essence, to our 1939 paper printed in *TCLP* 8) concerning the distinction between the written and the spoken norm of language: the function of the latter is, in principle, to react to a given stimulus (which, as a rule, is an urgent one) in a dynamic way, i.e., in a ready and immediate manner expressing not only the purely communicative but also the emotional aspect of the approach of the reacting language user. On the other hand, the function of the former is to react to a given stimulus (which, as a rule, is not an urgent one) in a static way, i.e. in a preservable and easily surveyable manner, concentrating particularly on the purely communicative aspect of the approach of the reacting language user.

10. For a more detailed account of this meeting and its prehistory see V. Mathesius' paper included here as Appendix II.

11. The original Czech version of the abstract was included in B. Trnka's Czech account "Pražský linguistický kroužek," *ČMF* 14, 1928, pp. 182-186.

12. R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings I, Phonological Studies* (The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1962), pp. 1-2.

13. And reprinted in full in the *Prague School Reader* (see above note 2), pp. 33-58.

14. Thanks to the initiative of the Viennese Slavicists (especially Prof. J. Hamm), the Association is to be revived very shortly.

15. Their answers can be found in the *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Linguists* (Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Linguistes, Paris, 1949, pp. 135-6 et passim).

16. J. Vachek, *Dictionnaire de linguistique de l'École de Prague* (Utrecht-Antwerp, Spectrum, 1960). The Russian version of the book was published in Moscow (under the title *Lingvističeskij slovar' Pražskoj školy*) in 1964.

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II. THE GENERAL PATTERN OF PRAGUE THEORY

1. The book, originally published in Danish, was translated into English and recently republished by the Indiana University Press (Bloomington, 1962) under the title *The Discovery of Language*. For Zvegincev's book see Chapter I, note 7.

2. For more information on this other current of linguistic research see V. Mathesius' paper "New Currents and Tendencies in Linguistic Research," in *MNHMA* (J. Zubatý volume), Prague 1927, pp. 188-203.

3. Or, respectively, by the French terms "thème" and "propos." It should be added that Mathesius' original terms were "the basis" and "the nucleus," respectively.

4. Admittedly, the existence of the fact denoted here as "theme" and "rheme" had been known to linguists long before Mathesius—G. von der Gabelentz, for instance, speaks of the difference between the "psychological subject" and the "psychological predicate." These terms, however, being based on psychologistic terms, proved methodologically barren and operationally intractable. By defining the difference in functionalist terms, Mathesius made it both highly operative and methodologically fruitful.

5. Karcevskij's obituary, written by Jakobson, is to be included in Thomas A. Sebeok's volume *Portraits of Linguists* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, forthcoming).

6. In his lecture delivered at the Linguistic Institute 1964, and to be printed in vol. III of the series *Current Trends in Linguistics* (The Hague, Mouton, 1965).

7. *Cours*^{2}, p. 164.

8. See, e.g., Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, pp. 7ff.

9. R. Jakobson, "Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe, comparée à celle des autres langues slaves," (*TCLP* 2, 1929); an unabridged reprint of the whole book is contained now in Jakobson's *Selected Writings*, vol. I, pp. 7-116.

10. It should be noted that Jakobson's conception, fully developed in "Remarques," was, *in nuce*, already present in his lecture given to the Prague Circle in the early part of 1927 (see here above, p. 9).

11. The views of the Copenhagen group are conveniently accessible in J. Whitfield's English translation of L. Hjelmslev's basic work *Omkring sprogteoriens grundlaegelse* (Copenhagen, 1943); the English version, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, was published in Bloomington, Indiana, in 1952. (The Russian version of the work can be found in the series *Novoe v lingvistike* 1, 1959, pp. 264-381.)

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12. "Kodaňský strukturalismus a pražská škola" [The Copenhagen Structuralism and the Prague School], *SaS* 10, 1948, pp. 135-142; the Russian version of the paper is included in Zvegincev's *Istorija jazykoznanija* (see above Chapter I, note 7), pp. 92-99.

13. B. Trnka, "Méthode de comparaison analytique et grammaire comparée historique," *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 33-38 (especially p. 38); reprinted in *PSRL* (see above Chapter I, note 2), pp. 68-73 (especially p. 72).

14. A. Martinet, *Économie des changements linguistiques* (Berne, 1955); partly accessible also in the Russian translation, published in Moscow in 1960.

15. For particulars, see J. Vachek, "On the Interplay of External and Internal Factors in the Development of Language," *Lingua* 11, 1962, pp. 433-448.

16. B. Havránek, "Zur phonologischen Geographie. Das Vokalsystem des balkanischen Sprachbundes." *Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique expérimentale* 8-9, 1933, pp. 28-34. R. Jakobson, "Typological Studies and Their Contribution to Historical Comparative Linguistics," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists* (Oslo, 1957), pp. 17-25.

17. See B. Havránek's paper quoted in note 16 above; R. Jakobson, "Sur la théorie des affinités phonologiques entre les langues," *Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Linguistes* (Copenhagen, 1938), pp. 48-58. Also in *Selected Writings* I, pp. 234-246.

18. More details on this issue can be found in J. Vachek's monograph "On Peripheral Phonemes of Modern English," *BSE* 4, 1964, pp. 7-109, especially Chapter II.

19. This was pointed out already in 1931 by Jakobson (*TCLP* 4, p. 264f.) and repeatedly stressed by other members of the Prague group.

20. Let us note, in passing, that the forthcoming second volume of the series *TLP* (to appear in 1966) is to be wholly devoted to the problems of the mutual relation of the center and periphery of the system of language.

21. V. Mathesius, "K fonologickému systému moderní angličtiny" [On the Phonological System of Modern English], *ČMF* 15, 1929, pp. 129-139 (especially p. 137).

22. See especially Pike's lecture delivered at the Eighth International Congress of Linguists, held at Oslo in 1957, in the *Proceedings* of that congress, Oslo, 1958, pp. 363-370.

23. The above example is, of course, only a very elementary specimen case of the mutual interdependence of language levels; more complex

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and more delicate instances of such interdependence can be ascertained. It can be demonstrated, for instance, that some of the important phonological changes that occurred in the course of the development of English (such as the replacement of the vocalic correlation of quantity by that of contact, or the reevaluation of the consonantal correlation of voice into that of tension) were, to a considerable degree, motivated by the situation on the morphological level of English, i.e., with the restructuralization of its synthetic type of grammatical pattern into one built up on basically analytical principles. (For particulars and other instances of the kind, see our monograph "Some Less Familiar Aspects of the Analytical Trend in English," *BSE* 3, 1961, pp. 9-78.)

24. S. Karcevskij, "Du dualisme asymétrique du signe linguistique," *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 33-38, reprinted in *PSRL*, pp. 81-87.

25. Cf. R. H. Robins, "General Linguistics in Great Britain," 1930-1960, in *Trends in Modern Linguistics* (Utrecht-Antwerp, Spectrum, 1963), pp. 11-37.

26. A. V. Isačenko, "O prizyvnoj funkcii jazyka," *RLB* 1, 1948, pp. 45-57 (the English version of the paper can be found in *PSRL*, pp. 88-97).

27. Cf. R. Jakobson, "Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums," *Charisteria Guil. Mathesio* (Prague, 1932), pp. 74-84 (reprinted in *PSRL*, pp. 347-359).

28. K. Horálek, "La fonction de la 'structure des fonctions' de la langue," *RLB* 1, 1948, pp. 39-43 (reprinted in *PSRL*, pp. 421-425).

29. Most recently, K. Horálek has again taken up the subject of the functions of language in his paper "Les fonctions de la langue et de la parole," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 41-46. He now calls the "function of the structure of functions" by a less cumbersome term—the "nationally representative function."

III. PROBLEMS OF PHONOLOGY

1. For more information on this shift of interest, see the two informative papers of *TLP* 1, mentioned above Chapter I, note 1.

2. "Projet de terminologie phonologique standardisée," *TCLP* 4, 1931, pp. 308-323 (especially p. 309).

3. See, e.g., C. F. Hockett's *A Manual of Phonology* (Baltimore, 1953). Incidentally, the term phonology is also accepted by Martinet, who objects to the term phonemics that its formation disregards Graeco-Latin word-formative rules which would rather require the term "phonematics."

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4. One of Martinet's earlier books bears the title *Phonology as Functional Phonetics* (London, 1949); see also O. Cacher's Russian paper "Fonetika v svete učenija I. V. Stalina o jazyke," *Innostrannye jazyki v škole*, 1951, no. 3, pp. 21ff.

5. B. Trnka, "O současném stavu bádání ve fonologii" [On the Present State of Phonological Studies], *SaS* 6, 1940, pp. 164-170, 203-215 (especially pp. 165-166).

6. J. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Próba teorji alternacyj fonetycznych* (Cracow, 1894); the German version of the book, *Versuch einer Theorie phonetischer Alternationen*, was published in Strassburg in 1895.

7. *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 10-11; reprinted in *PSRL*, p. 37.

8. L. V. Ščerba, *Russkie glasnye v kačestvennom i količestvennom otnošenii* (Moscow, 1912).

9. N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Zur allgemeinen Theorie phonologischer Vokalsysteme," *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 39-67, reprinted in *PSRL*, pp. 108-142.

10. D. Čyževśkyj, "Phonologie und Psychologie," *TCLP* 4, pp. 3-21; K. Bühler, "Phonetik und Phonologie," ibid., pp. 22-52.

11. J. Vachek, "Phonemes and Phonological Units," *TCLP* 6, 1936, pp. 235-239; reprinted in *PSRL*, pp. 143-149.

12. In *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby* [Otto Encyclopaedia of Modern Times], s.v. "Fonéma" [Phoneme]; the English translation of this article is found in Jakobson's *Selected Writings*, vol. I, pp. 231-233.

13. J. Vachek, "Professor Daniel Jones and the Phoneme," *Charisteria Guil. Mathesio* (Prague, 1932), pp. 25-32. More recently, D. Jones enlarged upon his conception in his monograph *The Phoneme, Its Nature and Use* (Cambridge 1950, 2nd ed. 1957).

14. This other, more suitable term was used by H. Kučera in his monograph *The Phonology of Czech* (The Hague, Mouton, 1961).

15. In *Language* 17, 1941, pp. 345-349.

16. J. Vachek, "Yaleská škola a strukturalistická fonologie" [The Yale School and Structuralist Phonology], *SaS* 11, 1949, pp. 36-44.

17. R. Jakobson–M. Halle, *Fundamentals of Language* (The Hague, Mouton), 1955.

18. *SaS* 4, 1938, p. 192.

19. R. Jakobson, "Observations sur le classement phonologique des consonnes," *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in Ghent 1938*, pp. 34-41 (reprinted in *Selected Writings*, pp. 272-279).

20. *TCLP* 1, 1929, p. 10 (also in *PSRL*, p. 37).

21. Reviewed by J. Vachek, *ČMF-Phil* 6, 1951, pp. 46-47.

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22. On this point, see A. V. Isačenko's paper "Hat sich die Phonologie überlebt?" in *ZfPhon* 9, 1956, pp. 311-330.

23. It is worth noting, however, that the term "realization" is again introduced by Sydney M. Lamb's stratificational approach to language (see, e.g., H. A. Gleason, Jr., "The Organization of Language: A Stratificational View," in *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown Univ. Press, 17, 1964), pp. 75-95. In any case, in the light of modern methodology, operating with "constructs," the fear of the term "realization" appears to be meaningless.

24. For particulars, see our paper "On Functional Complementation," to be published in J. Kuryłowicz's volume in Cracow, 1965. As a matter of fact, the commutation test was already known to J. Winteler as early as 1876!

25. N. S. Trubetzkoy, *Anleitung zu phonologischen Beschreibungen* (Brno, 1936).

26. *Actes du Premier Congrès international de linguistes* (The Hague, 1929), pp. 336ff.; reprinted in Jakobson's *Selected Writings* I, pp. 3-6.

27. For the sake of clearness, the symbols indicating phonemes are usually put in vertical strokes or slants, while those standing for sounds are placed in square brackets.

28. N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Essai d'une théorie des oppositions phonologiques," *Journal de Psychologie* 33, 1936, pp. 5-18.

29. Cf. M. Halle, "In Defense of the Number Two," *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* (The Hague, 1957), pp. 65-72.

30. See especially K. Horálek, "À propos de la théorie des oppositions binaires." *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 414-417. It is interesting that even those present-day Czechoslovak scholars who do accept the principle of consistent binary oppositions of distinctive features have adapted the content of the concept of such features so radically as to make it unidentifiable with the original Harvard content of the term—e.g. E. Pauliny, *Fonológia spisovnej slovenčiny* [Phonology of Standard Slovak] (Bratislava, 1961); M. Romportl, *Zvukový rozbor ruštiny* [A Phonic Analysis of Russian] (Prague, 1962).

31. Our line of reasoning appears to find some confirmation in S. M. Lamb's stratificational approach to language. In Lamb's conception, the phonons (roughly equivalent to Prague "distinctive features"), as minimum units of the phonemic stratum, cannot be traced on a higher, morphemic stratum. The basic unit of this latter stratum, morphon, is equivalent to the Prague morphoneme, and its "realization" (imple-

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mentation) on the phonemic stratum is a phoneme or a number of phonemes alternating in the same position. It is only in this sense that the term morphoneme can be found useful, for it is here that it is implemented in phonemic, not sub-phonemic terms.

32. V. Mathesius, "La structure phonologique du lexique du tchèque moderne," *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 67-84 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 156-176); same, "Zum Problem der Belastungs–und Kombinationsfähigkeit der Phoneme," *TCLP* 4, 1931, pp. 148-152 (in *PSRL*, pp. 177-182).

33. See Trnka's monograph *A Phonological Analysis of Present Day Standard English* (Prague, 1935).

34. J. Vachek, "Poznámky k fonologii českého lexika" [Notes on the Phonology of the Czech Wordstock], *LF* 60, 1940, pp. 395-402.

35. V. Mathesius, "Zur synchronischen Analyse fremden Sprachguts," *Englische Studien* 70, 1934, pp. 21-35 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 398-412).

36. Cf. C. C. Fries and K. L. Pike, "Coexistent Phonemic Systems," *Language* 25, 1949, pp. 29-50.

37. See our paper "The Place of [ɔɪ] in the Phonic Pattern of Southern British English," *Linguistics*, No. 14, 1965, pp. 52-59.

38. J. M. Kořínek, "Laut und Wortbedeutung," *TCLP* 8, 1939, pp. 58-65 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 98-107).

39. The subject is treated in a more detailed manner in our paper "Notes on Gender in Modern English," *SPFFBU* A 12, 1964, pp. 189-194.

40. For a more detailed discussion of various kinds of "limiting signals" see Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, pp. 243ff. (also in Cantineau's translation, p. 292ff.).

41. S. Karcevskij, "Sur la phonologie de la phrase," *TCLP* 4, 1931, pp. 188-227 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 206-251).

42. F. Daneš, *Intonace a věta ve spisovné češtině* [Sentence Intonation in Standard Czech] (Prague, 1956). With a summary in English. Daneš's main theses were also presented in his English paper "Sentence Intonation from a Functional Point of View," *Word* 16, 1960, pp. 34-54.

IV. PROBLEMS OF MORPHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

1. "Projet," *TCLP* 4, 1931, p. 321.

2. Cf. N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Sur la morphonologie," *TCLP* 1, 1929, pp. 85-88 (and in *PSRL*, pp. 183-186); same, "Gedanken über Morphonologie," *TCLP* 4, 1931, pp. 160-163.

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3. We prefer to speak about the implementation of the morpheme by phonemes where Trubetzkoy speaks of morphemes being composed of Phonemes. The inadequacy of the earlier wording, used also by the Bloomfieldians, was convincingly proved by S. M. Lamb (see Gleason's paper quoted above, Chapter III, note 23).

4. *TCLP* 1, 1929, p. 85.

5. Essentially, this attempt of ours at a redefinition of the morphoneme goes back to our paper of 1961, entitled "A propos de la terminologie linguistique et du système de concepts linguistiques de l'École de Prague," *PP* 4, 1961, pp. 65-78. It may be interesting to note that our conception of morphemes being implemented by phonemic sequences, implied by our 1961 paper (but dating from an even earlier period), is in remarkable harmony with S. Lamb's conception of the morphoneme (or rather morphon, to use his own term; see above, Chapter III, note 23; also notes 3 and 9, this chapter).

6. N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Das morphonologische System der russischen Sprache," *TCLP* 5_2, 1934. Most recently, Trubetzkoy's conception of Russian morphonology was sharply criticized by E. Stankiewicz in his Collitz lecture "Slavic Morphonemics in its Typological and Diachronic Aspects," to be published in the series *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. III (The Hague, Mouton).

7. See his Czech monograph *Teorie odvozování slov* [A Theory of Word Derivation] (Prague, 1962).

8. Cf. N. Chomsky, "The Logical Basis of Linguistic Theory," *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 914-978. For a critical analysis of some of Chomsky's phonological theses from the position of the Prague group, see J. Vachek, "On Some Basic Principles of 'Classical' Phonology," *ZfPhon* 17, 1964, pp. 409-431.

9. A synthesis of the stratificational and generativist approaches was attempted by C. F. Hockett in his series of lectures "A Stratificational View" (held at the Linguistic Institute 1964 in Bloomington), to appear in The Hague series *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. III.

10. V. Skalička, *Zur ungarischen Grammatik* (Prague, 1935); one chapter of the book has been reprinted, under the heading "Morphem und Sema," in *PSRL*, pp. 320-328.

11. See his paper "Über die Typologie der Bantusprachen" in *Archiv orientální* 15, 1945, pp. 93-127; for Czech, also his book *Typ češtiny* [The Type of the Czech language] (Prague, 1950).

12. B. Trnka, "Some Thoughts on Structural Morphology," *Charisteria Guil. Mathesio* (Prague, 1932), pp. 57-61 (also in *PSRL*, pp.

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329-334). For later versions of Trnka's theory, see his report on the mutual relation of morphology and syntax, presented to the Sixth International Congress of Linguists in Paris, 1948 (the *Actes* of the Congress, pp. 19-30), and his Czech paper "Morfologické protiklady" [Morphological Oppositions], in the collective volume *O vědeckém poznání soudobých jazyků* [On Research into Contemporary Languages] (Prague, 1958), pp. 93-104.

13. A concrete application of Trnka's principles to English may be found in his Czech university course *Rozbor nynější spisovné angličtiny* [An Analysis of Present Day Standard English] I-III (Prague, 1953-55).

14. S. Karcevskij, "Sur la structure du substantif russe," *Charisteria Guil. Mathesio*, pp. 65-73 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 335-346).

15. R. Jakobson, "Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums," *Charisteria Guil. Mathesio*, pp. 74-84 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 347-359). It should be added that Karcevskij, too, studied the problems of the Russian verb—see his monograph *Système du verbe russe* (Prague, 1927); still, Jakobson's treatise appears to be more typical of the Prague group approach.

16. R. Jakobson, "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre," *TCLP* 6, 1936, pp. 240-288; same, "Morfologičeskie nabljudenija nad slavjanskim skloneniem," *American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavicists in Moscow, 1958*, pp. 1-30.

17. E. Pauliny, *Štruktúra slovenského slovesa* [The Structure of the Slovak Verb] (Bratislava, 1943).

18. M. Dokulil, "Vývojové tendence časování v současné spisovné češtině [Trends in the Development of Conjugation in Present Day Standard Czech] in: *O češtině pro Čechy* [Czech for the Czechs] (Prague, 1960), pp. 192-221.

19. F. Kopečný, *Slovesný vid v češtině* [The Verbal Aspect in Czech] (Prague, 1962); I. Němec, "A Diachronistic Approach to the Word-Formative System of the Czech Verb," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 173-182; the latter paper attacks the problem in terms of the binary approach (marked—unmarked), referred to above.

20. F. V. Mareš, "The Proto-Slavic and Early Slavic Declension System," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 163-172. Also accessible in the Czech version, printed in *Československé přednášky pro V. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů v Sofii* (Prague, 1963), pp. 51-63.

21. See especially B. Havránek's communication to the Belgrade Congress of Slavicists (1939) and his paper in *Mélanges Bally* (for particulars, see Bibliography). Incidentally, it is worth noting that the importance of marked vs. unmarked elements of morphological oppo-

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sitions is now frequently admitted also by scholars who do not belong to either the Prague or the Harvard group—see, e.g., J. L. Greenberg's interesting series of lectures "On Linguistic Universals," delivered at the Linguistic Institute 1964 (and to be published in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. III); Greenberg applies the opposition even to the word-stocks of the languages examined by him (over twenty in number).

22. V. Mathesius, "On Some Problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar," *TCLP* 6, 1936, pp. 95-107 (also in *PSRL*, pp. 306-319).

V. PROBLEMS OF SYNTAX

1. V. Mathesius, "Několik slov o podstatě věty" [Some Words on the Essence of the Sentence], *ČMF* 10, 1924, pp. 1-6; the English version of the definition was given by the author himself in the paper quoted here above, Chapter IV, note 22.

2. Already in his younger years Mathesius paid special attention to the nominal predicative tendencies in ModE (see his Czech paper "O nominálních tendencích v slovesné predikaci novoanglické" [On Nominal Tendencies in ModE Verbal Predication], *Sborník filologický* (Prague) 4, 1913, pp. 325ff.

3. More information on such types and, in general, on the means employed by ModE to add more nominal character to its predication, may be found in Mathesius' synthetic work on ModE quoted above in Chapter I, note 6; see also J. Vachek's treatise "On Some Less Familiar Aspects of the Analytical Trend in English," *BSE* 3, 1961, Chapter IV.

4. As already noted, the two parts of the sentence-utterance have also been designated by various linguists in other terms (e.g., "thème": "propos"; or "topic": "comment," respectively).

5. On the content of the term "theme" see, most recently, J. Firbas' paper "On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 267-280.

6. As a matter of fact, the term "functional sentence perspective" was not used by Mathesius, but the Czech term used by him ("aktuální členění větné") appears to be unusable in English on account of the wrong connotations its literal translation would involve.

7. See, e.g., F. Daneš, "K otázce pořádku slov v slovanských jazycích" [On the Problem of Word Order in Slavic Languages], *SaS* 20, 1959, pp. 1-10; M. Dokulil and F. Daneš, "K tzv. významové a mluvnické stavbě věty" [On the so-called Semantic and Grammatical Organization of the Sentence], in the collective volume *O vědeckém poznání*

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. . . (see above, Chapter IV, note 12), pp. 231-246; K. Hausenblas, "Syntaktická závislost, způsoby a prostředky jejího vyjadřování" [Syntactic Dependence, Ways and Means of Its Expression], *Bulletin Vysoké školy ruského jazyka a literatury* (Prague) 2, 1958, pp. 23-51; J. Firbas, "From Comparative Word-Order Studies," *BSE* 4, 1964, pp. 111-128; E. Beneš, "Die Verbstellung im Deutschen, von der Mitteilungsperspektive her betrachtet," *PP* 5, 1962, pp. 6-19; J. Dubský, "L'inversion en espagnol," *SPFFBU* A8, 1960, pp. 111-122; P. Novák, "O prostředcích aktuálního členění" [On the Means Employed by the Functional Sentence Perspective], *AUC* 1959, *Philologica* 1, pp. 9-15.

8. For particulars, see F. Daneš, "A Three-Level Approach to Syntax," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 225-240 (see also *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 1964, No. 6, pp. 3-15).

VI. THE STANDARD LANGUAGE AND THE AESTHETIC FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE

1. B. Havránek, "Zum Problem der Norm in der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft und Sprachkultur," *Actes du Quatrième Congrès International des Linguistes* (Copenhagen, 1936); pp. 151-156, and *PSRL*, pp. 413-420.

2. On this point, see another paper by Havránek, dating from 1932, published originally in Czech under the title "Úkoly spisovného jazyka a jeho kultura" [The Tasks and Cultivation of the Standard Language] in the collective volume *SČJK*, pp. 32-84, reprinted *in Studie o spisovném jazyce* (Prague, 1963), pp. 30-59; its substantial parts have been translated into English by P. L. Garvin in *PSRE*, pp. 3-16.

3. The present-day situation of the standard norm of literary Czech and its problems has been discussed, most recently, by Havránek's pupil A. Jedlička in his paper "Zur Prager Theorie der Schriftsprache," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 47-58. See also a monograph by J. Bělič, *Sedm kapitol o spisovné češtině* [Seven Chapters on Standard Czech] (Prague, 1956). The specific tasks of the literary standards should also be examined by diachronistic research analyzing the processes by which individual standard languages achieve the desired stylistic stratification; on this and other problems, see B. Havránek's recent paper on "Comparative Structural Studies of Slavic Standard Languages," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 59-66; also his earlier Czech papers in *Slavia* (Prague) 24, 1955, pp. 179ff., and ibid. 27, 1958, pp. 153ff.; now reprinted in Havránek's volume *Studie o spisovném jazyce* (Prague, 1963), pp. 328-344.

4. An important French paper by Mukařovský was, however, pub-

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lished in French: "La phonologie et la poétique," *TCLP* 4, 1931, pp. 278-288. See also Mukařovský's paper on intonation as a factor of poetic rhythm (listed in Selected Bibliography).

VIII. SOME FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

1. This idea found an especially clear formulation in a Czech paper by B. Trnka, "Jazykozpyt a myšlenková struktura doby" [Linguistics and the Ideological Structure of the Period], *SaS* 10, 1948, pp. 23-50; the English translation of the paper, provided by J. Vachek, is included here as Appendix III.

2. See, e.g., H. J. Pos's paper "Perspectives du structuralisme," *TCLP* 8, 1939, pp. 71-78. It should be emphasized, however, that the trend common to the scientific disciplines of the period can and should assert itself only in so far as is compatible with the nature of the examined facts; if these limits are overstepped, the trend is likely to be harmful rather than useful to the correct understanding of those facts.

3. Trnka's formulation, however, dates from a much earlier period (from 1943, when he delivered a lecture whose enlarged version the quoted paper constitutes).

4. P. Sgall, "Zur Frage der Ebenen im Sprachsystem," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 95-106.

5. A. V. Isačenko, "The Morphology of the Slovak Verb," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 183-202.

6. L. Doležel, "Vers la stylistique structurale," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 225-240.

7. See above, Chapter V, note 8.

8. See above, Chapter IV, note 19.

9. M. Komárek, "Sur l'appréciation fonctionnelle des alternances morphologiques," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 145-162.

10. M. Renský, "English Verbo-Nominal Phrases," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 289-299.

11. It may be recalled here that at the Colloquium of Algebraic Linguistics held in Prague in September 1964, Academician Kalmár (Budapest) admitted that mathematics has not yet developed a procedure for the formalization of the phenomena of changing structures.

12. It should be noted that another young member of the Prague group of today, O. Leška, attempts a sort of synthesis of some of the Prague ideas with what is, basically, the Copenhagen group approach (see his paper "Zur Invariantenforschung in der Sprachwissenschaft," *TLP* 1, 1964, pp. 85-94).

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Appendix I

Basic Information on Some Members of the Prague Group

In the following pages we comply with the wish many times expressed by the students of the Linguistic Institute for information on individual members of the Prague group. Of course, limitations of space do not allow us to give more about each of the registered linguists than a handful of technical details. Even so, the information presented here may be found not quite useless. The scanty facts can, at least in a few instances, be amply supplemented by obituaries written on the deceased scholars by prominent experts (information, when such portraits are available, is given in the appropriate places).

It was not always easy to select the individual scholars who should be included—about a dozen more could be added to those listed here. Any selection must be subjective, but we tried to make our criteria as objective as possible. In the first place, we felt it necessary to include all Czech and Slovak linguists whose contributions appeared in the prewar series of the *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (and of course, those Russians who became particularly closely associated with the Circle's work). Next, we thought it useful to include all contributors to the first volume of the postwar series *Travaux Linguistique de Prague*, if for no other reason, than to demonstrate how this "second" generation is building on the foundations laid down by the first. In addition to this, we also felt it necessary to include some scholars who have not contributed to the *TLP* volume but who have in their research work tried to apply systematically the structuralist and/or functionalist viewpoint, so typical of both generations of the Prague group.

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ARTYMOVYČ, AGENOR, born 1879. A Ukrainian classical philologist, originally Professor at the University of Černovcy; in the early thirties at the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute in Prague. Died in 1935. Had keen interest in problems of general linguistics, especially in those of written language (see his basic paper "Pysana mova," Prague, 1932), on the potential character of language, etc. A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle. (A brief Czech obituary of Artymovyč by R. Jakobson was published in *SaS*, 2, 1936, pp. 63-64.)

BĚLIČ, JAROMÍR, born 1914, studied at Brno University as a pupil of B. Havránek and F. Trávníček. After World War II appointed Professor of Czech at Olomouc University and, in the late fifties, at Caroline University in Prague. Specialist in Czech (especially Moravian) dialectology and in the theory of literary standard. His main works: *Dolská nářeči na Moravě* [The Downland Dialects of Moravia] (Prague, 1954); *Sedm kapitol o spisovné češtině* [Seven Chapters on Standard Czech] (Prague, 1956). Corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and President of its Language Board.

DANEŠ, FRANTIŠEK, born 1919 in Písek (Bohemia), studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of B. Havránek and B. Trnka; since the early fifties research worker at the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and Director of that Institute since 1965. Lecturer in Czech at Caroline University. His interest is mainly divided between general phonology, general syntax and problems of the standardization of language. His main works: *Intonace a věta ve spisovné češtině* [Sentence Intonation in Standard Czech] (Prague, 1952); "A Three-Level Approach to Syntax" (*TLP* 1).

DOKULIL, MILOŠ, born 1912 at Ctidružice (Moravia), studied at Brno University under B. Havránek and F. Trávníček. At present senior research worker at the Institute of the Czech language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His interest is centered on problems of general and Czech grammar, particularly on the verb and on word formation. His main work is the monograph *Teorie*

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odvozování slov [A Theory of Word-Derivation] (Prague, 1962); see also his paper in *TLP* 1, (Prague, 1964).

DOLEŽEL, LUBOMÍR, born 1922, studied at Caroline University in Prague as B. Havránek's pupil. Now research worker at the Institute of the Czech Language and lecturer at Caroline University. His activities are centered partly on stylistics, partly—more recently—on mathematical linguistics. Most recently, he combines the two interests, attempting to approach problems of style by mathematical methods (see his contribution to *TLP* 1, Prague, 1964). His main work, *O stylu moderní české prózy* [On the Style of Modern Czech Prose] was published in Prague, 1960.

DOSTÁL, ANTONÍN, born 1906, studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of M. Weingart and B. Havránek. After World War II became Lecturer in Comparative Slavic Linguistics at the University of Olomouc and, later on, in Prague. Now Professor of that discipline at Caroline University. His main preoccupations are problems of verbal aspect. His principal work: *Studie o vidovém systému v staroslovenštině* [A Study of the Aspectual System of Old Church Slavic] (Prague, 1954). Also works in Byzantology.

ĎUROVÍČ, LUBOMÍR, born 1925, studied at Bratislava University as a pupil of A. V. Isačenko, then in Prague and Oslo. Now lecturer in Russian at the same university. His specialty is Russian phonology and grammar. His main works are the monograph *Modálnost* [Modality] (Bratislava, 1956), confronting Slovak and Russian expressions of modal relations; and a morphonologically conceived book *Paradigmatika spisovnej ruštiny* [Paradigmatics of Standard Russian] (Bratislava, 1964).

FIRBAS, JAN, born 1921, studied at Brno University as a pupil of J. Vachek; lecturer in English at the same university. Specializes in problems of English functional syntax—see his paper *From Comparative Word Order Studies* (*BSE* 4, 1964), also his paper on the nature of the theme, in *TLP* 1—and the functional aspect of English sentence punctuation.

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HAUSENBLAS, KAREL, born 1923, studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of B. Havránek, V. Skalička, and V. Šmilauer; since the early sixties Lecturer in Czech at the same university. He specializes in problems of Czech syntax and general stylistics (his main book is *Vývoj předmětového genitivu v češtině* [The Development of the Objectival Genitive in Czech] (Prague, 1958); see also his paper "On the Characterization and Classification of Discourses" (*TLP* 1).

BOHUSLAV HAVRÁNEK

HAVRÁNEK, BOHUSLAV, born 1893 in Prague; studied at Caroline University in Prague under the comparativist Zubatý and the Slavicist Polívka. In 1929-1945 Professor of Comparative Slavic Linguistics in Brno, then in the same capacity at Caroline University, Prague. Since 1952 Director of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Specializes in problems of standard languages, of comparative Slavic grammar, of the Balkan languages and especially of Czech. Main works: *Genera verbi v jazycích slovanských* [Genera Verbi in Slavic Languages], 2 vols. (Prague, 1928-37); *Česká nářečí* [Czech Local Dialects] (Prague, 1934); *Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého* [The Development of Standard Czech] (Prague, 1936); *Studie o spisovném jazyce* [Studies in the Standard Language] (Prague, 1963). Editor-in-chief of the Circle's periodical *SaS* since 1935, Member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, honorary member of the Bulgarian and (East) German Academies of Sciences, one of

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the founding members of the Prague Linguistic Circle, and its President since 1945.

HORÁLEK, KAREL, born 1908 in Rajhrad (Moravia), a pupil of B. Havránek and R. Jakobson. Became Lecturer and later Professor of Comparative Slavic Linguistics at Caroline University, Prague. Specializes in problems of general and Slavic linguistics, especially Old Church Slavic and Bulgarian, and problems of phonemics, metrics, and folklore. His *Úvod do studia slovanských jazyků* [An Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages] (Prague, 1955; 2nd ed. 1961) will shortly appear in Britain in English translation. A member of the Prague Linguistic Circle, a corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

HORECKÝ, JÁN, born 1920, studied at Bratislava University as a pupil of J. M. Kořínek. Now research-worker at the Institute of the Slovak Language of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and lecturer at Bratislava University. His main preoccupations are Slovak grammar—see his principal work, *Slovotvorná sústava slovenčiny* [The Word-Formative System of Slovak] (Bratislava, 1959)—and mathematical linguistics.

HOŘEJŠÍ, VLADIMÍR, born 1925 in Prague, studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of B. Trnka and V. Buben, at present research worker at the Institute of Languages and Literatures (Romance section) of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His interest centers on general linguistic problems with special regard to the structural investigation of French and Roumanian. (See his contribution to *TLP* 1.)

ISAČENKO, ALEXANDER VASILJEVIČ, born 1911. Studied in Vienna under N. S. Trubetzkoy. After World War II, Professor of Russian at Bratislava and Olomouc Universities. Now heads the Slavic section of the Institute of Languages (Academy, Prague). For some time active in East Berlin. Specializes in problems of general and comparative Slavic linguistics, including phonology and lexicology. His main works are *Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka v sopostavlenii s slovackim*, 2 vols. (Bratislava, 1954-60); *Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart I* (Halle, 1962). A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

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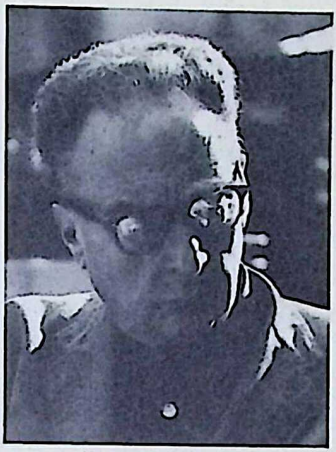

ROMAN JAKOBSON

JAKOBSON, ROMAN OSIPOVIČ, born 1896 in Moscow. Strongly influenced by the Russian linguistic schools of Baudouin de Courtenay, F. F. Fortunatov, and L. V. Ščerba; came to Prague in the early twenties. Professor at Brno University (1933-39). Had to leave Czechoslovakia at the time of Nazi occupation; now Professor of Slavic Languages and literatures at Harvard University, and of General Linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His wide interests are divided between linguistics and theory of literature (especially theory of verse). In linguistics, he has mainly concentrated on phonology (see Vol. I of his *Selected Writings*, The Hague, 1962, and his forthcoming book *Sound and Meaning*), on problems of structural grammar (see, e.g., his *Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre*, 1936), on the development of speech in a child. One of the founding members of the Prague Linguistic Circle; its first Vice-President.

JEDLIČKA, ALOIS, born 1915, studied at Brno University as a pupil of B. Havránek; after World War II, Professor of Czech at Caroline University in Prague. His main interest is the study of the general problems of the literary standard with special reference to Czech, and the historical development of the Czech literary standard. He also directs the activities of the Czechoslovak Committee for Research into Linguistic Terminology. Editor-in-chief of *Naše řeč* (a

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periodical for the problems of cultivation of Czech). With B. Havránek he published his *Česká mluvnice* [Czech Grammar] (Prague, 1960). See also his contribution to *TLP* 1.

Jelínek, Milan, born 1923, studied at Brno University as a pupil of F. Trávníček and A. Kellner. Became Lecturer and later Professor of Czech at the same university. Specializes in Czech and general stylistics and in the history of the Czech literary language with special reference to syntactic and stylistic means. See, e.g., his paper *K teoretickým otázkám srovnávací stylistiky slovanských jazyků* [On Theoretical Problems of Comparative Slavic Stylistics] (Prague, 1963).

Karcevskij, Sergej Iosifovič, born 1887. A Russian linguist, studied at Geneva; was strongly influenced by the ideas of the school of Geneva. In the mid-twenties lived in Prague and became closely associated with the Prague group of linguists, later organized as the Prague Linguistic Circle. After 1928 Director of the Institute of Slavic Studies in Geneva and Professor at Geneva University. Died in 1955. His main works are: *Système du verbe russe* (Prague, 1927), and *Sur la phonologie de la phrase* (Prague, 1931). A detailed obituary of Karcevskij, written by R. Jakobson, can be found in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Portraits of Linguists* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, forthcoming).

Kellner, Adolf, born 1904 in Štramberk (Moravia), studied at Brno University as a pupil of B. Havránek and F. Trávníček. After World War II Professor of Slavic Languages at the same university. Died in 1953. Specialist in Czech dialectology. His main works were the two-volume monograph *Východolašská nářečí* [The Dialects of the East Lachia Region], and his *Úvod do dialektologie* [An Introduction to Dialectology], posthumously (Prague, 1954).

Komárek, Miroslav, born 1924, studied at Prague and Olomouc Universities as a pupil of J. Bělič, B. Havránek, K. Horálek, and V. Šmilauer. Since the late fifties, Lecturer in Czech at Olomouc University. Specialist in Czech historical phonology, author of the phonological section of the new historical grammar of Czech *Historická mluvnice I, Hláskosloví* (Prague, 1958, 2nd ed. 1962). See also his paper in *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964).

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KOPECKIJ, LEONTIJ VASILJEVIČ, born 1890, a Russian Slavist living in Czechoslovakia since the twenties, Professor of Russian on the Economic Faculty of Prague Technological Institute, later at Caroline University. His two main working domains are methodology of teaching Russian and Czech and Russian lexicography (he directed the work of the collective body compiling the great Russian-Czech dictionary). A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

KOPEČNÝ, FRANTIŠEK, born 1910, studied at Brno University as a student of B. Havránek and F. Trávníček; research worker at the Brno branch of the Institute of Languages and Literatures (Slavic section) of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Lecturer in Czech at Olomouc University. Specializes in Czech and Slavic grammar (especially syntax) and etymology. Main works: *Základy české skladby* [Groundwork of Czech Syntax] (Prague, 1958, 2nd ed. 1962); *Slovesný vid v češtině* [The Verbal Aspect in Czech] (Prague, 1962).

KOŘÍNEK, JOSEF MILOSLAV, born 1899 in Nové Město (Moravia). Studied at Caroline University, Prague, as a pupil of J. Zubatý and O. Hujer. In the mid-thirties became Professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at Bratislava University. Died in 1945. Specialized in problems of the expressive function of language (especially of onomatopoetic expressions). His main books: *Studie z oblasti onomatopoje* [From the Domain of Onomatopoetic Expression] (Prague, 1934); *Úvod do jazykospytu* [Introduction to Linguistics] (Bratislava, 1946). A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle. (An obituary on Kořínek by J. Ružička was printed in *RLB* 1, 1948.)

KRÁMSKÝ, JIŘÍ, born 1913, studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of V. Mathesius and B. Trnka; research worker at the Research Institute of Economic and Technical Schools. Specializes in quantitative phonemics (see, e.g., his paper in *TLP* 1, Prague, 1964), language typology, and in methodology of teaching languages.

KŘÍŽKOVÁ, HELENA, born 1929, studied at Olomouc and Bratislava Universities as a pupil of A. V. Isačenko. She was Lecturer in Russian at Olomouc University and is at present Research Worker at

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the Institute of Languages and Literatures (Russian section) of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Her main field of interest is the grammatical system of Contemporary Russian—see her contribution to *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964).

LAMPRECHT, ARNOŠT, born 1919, studied at Brno University as a pupil of B. Havránek, F. Trávníček and A. Kellner; in the fifties became lecturer and later Professor of Czech at the same university. He specializes in Czech dialectology and historical grammar (see his monograph *Středoopavská nářečí* [The Dialect of the Central Opava Region] (Prague, 1953), and his paper in *TLP* 1). Head of the Brno branch of the Institute of the Czech language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

LEŠKA, OLDŘICH, born 1927, studied at Caroline University, Prague, and at the Lomonosov University, Moscow, as a pupil of B. Havránek, L. Kopeckij, and V. V. Vinogradov. Specializes in Russian and general grammar. Research worker at the Institute of Languages and Literatures (Russian section) of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His writings combine the influence of the Prague and Copenhagen linguistic schools—see his paper in *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964).

MAREŠ, FRANTIŠEK VÁCLAV, born 1922, studied at Caroline University in Prague as B. Havránek's and Vašica's pupil; research worker at the Institute of Languages and Literatures (Slavic section) of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. He specializes mainly in Slavic phonology and morphology—see his paper in *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964). His most important work, however, is his study of the rise and development of the Slavic phonological pattern (*Slavia* 25, 1956); its English version is to be published in *Michigan Slavic Materials* in 1965.

MATHESIUS, VILÉM, born 1882 in Pardubice (Bohemia), studied at Prague's Caroline University, where he became Lecturer in 1909 and later (1912) Professor of English. Originally dividing his interest between English literary history and general linguistic problems, since the early twenties because of his ailing eyesight concentrated more and more on the study of language. Pioneer of the synchronistic approach to language facts (see his 1911 treatise *On*

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VILÉM MATHESIUS

the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language), he worked out the method of analytical comparison, the so-called "linguistic characterology," which he applied, in numerous writings, to English and Czech. Died in 1945. His main (posthumously edited) volumes: *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt* [The Czech Language and General Linguistics] (Prague, 1947); *Obsahový rozbor současné angličtiny na základě obecně lingvistickém* [A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis] (Prague, 1961). Founder, and President continuously until his death of the Prague Linguistic Circle. (See his paper "Ten Years of the Prague Linguistic Circle," in Appendix II of this book.) A detailed obituary of V. Mathesius, written by B. Trnka, is included in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Portraits of Linguists* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, forthcoming).

MUKAŘOVSKÝ, JAN, born 1891 in Písek (Bohemia), since the late twenties lecturer in Aesthetics at Caroline University, then Professor of Aesthetics in Bratislava (1935) and ultimately in Prague (since 1938). From 1952 to 1961 Director of the Institute of Czech Literature of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His main interest is centered on the structure of the literary work with special regard to the part played in this structure by linguistic devices. Most of his main writings are collected in the series *Kapitoly z*

डा० विद्या निवास मिश्र
प्राध्यापक, भाषा विज्ञान
निजी पुस्तकालय
पुस्तक संख्या.....

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české poetiky [Chapters from Czech Poetics], 3 vols. (Prague, 1948); see also his French paper *La phonologie et la poétique* (*TCLP* 4, 1931); for other papers, see Selected Bibliography. One of the founding members of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

Němec, Igor, born 1924, studied at Caroline University, Prague, as a pupil of B. Havránek. Now a research worker of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His main interests are the historical analysis of the Czech verbal system, especially its aspectual pattern—see his paper contributed to *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964)—and historical lexicology.

Nosek, Jiří, born 1919, studied at Caroline University, Prague, as a pupil of B. Trnka. At present Lecturer in English at that University. His main interest is English syntax (Modern and Early Modern) and stylistics of Colloquial English, with special regard to the English complex sentence—see, e.g., his contribution to this field in *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964).

Novák, L'udovít, born 1908 in Skalica (Slovakia), a Slovak Slavist, studied at Caroline University in Prague; during World War II Professor of Slovak at Bratislava University, now research worker of the Institute of Slovak Language of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. His main interest was centered on problems of historical phonology of Slovak (*K otázce jerových střídnic a kontrakce v střední slovenštině* [On the Problem of the Development of "yers" and on Contraction in Central Slovak] (Bratislava, 1934). A pre-war member of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

Pauliny, Eugen, born 1912. A Slovak linguist, Professor of Slovak at the University of Bratislava. His main interest is centered on problems of structural phonology and grammar, with special reference to Slovak. His main books: *Štruktúra slovenského slovesa* [The Structure of the Slovak Verb] (Bratislava, 1943); *Fonológia spisovnej slovenčiny* [Phonology of Standard Slovak] (Bratislava, 1961); *Fonologický vývin slovenčiny* [The Phonological Development of Slovak] (Bratislava, 1963). A member of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

Peciar, Štefan, born 1912. A Slovak linguist; studied at Caroline University in Prague, until 1965 Director of the Institute of the

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Slovak Language of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Specializes in phonology and in problems of the standardization of language. Editor-in-chief of the *Dictionary of the Slovak Language.*

POLDAUF, IVAN, born 1915 in Kutná Hora (Bohemia). A pupil of V. Mathesius and B. Trnka; after World War II Professor of English at the University of Olomouc; in 1962, Professor at the University of the 17th of November in Prague; in 1965, at Caroline University (Prague). His interest is centered on problems of English and general grammar (his main work: *On the History of Some Problems of English Grammar before 1800*, Prague, 1948). A member of the Prague Linguistic Circle; Vice President of the Language Board of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

RENSKÝ, MIROSLAV, born 1927, studied at Caroline University, Prague, as a pupil of B. Trnka; at present a research worker at the Institute of Languages and Literatures (English section) of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His main preoccupation is syntax of Modern English, especially its nominal trends, which are also the subject of his contribution to *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964).

RUŽIČKA, JOSEF, born 1916, studied at the University of Bratislava as a pupil of J. M. Kořínek. From 1965, Director of the Institute of the Slovak Language of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. He works on problems of general linguistics, with special regard to syntax of Modern Slovak. His main works are a Slovak monograph on the syntax of the Slovak infinitive (Bratislava, 1956), and an earlier book *Z problematiky slabiky a prozodických vlastností* [On Problems of the Syllable and Prosodic Qualities] (Bratislava, 1947).

RYPKA, JAN, born in 1886 in Kroměříž (Moravia), became Lecturer in Turkish and Modern Iranian Philology at Caroline University in Prague in the mid-twenties, and, later on, Professor of that discipline. His main interest centers in problems of Iranian literature and in metrical research on Iranian poetry—see, e.g., his paper *La métrique du Mutaqárib épique persan* (Prague, 1936). One of the founding members of the Prague Linguistic Circle and its first Honorary Treasurer. Member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

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SGALL, PETR, born 1926, studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of B. Havránek and V. Skalička. Since the fifties Lecturer in General Linguistics at the same university; research worker at the Center of Numerical Mathematics. In his earlier years he specialized in Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European; now his interest centers on Machine Translation and Algebraic Linguistics. See especially his paper "Zur Frage der Ebenen im Sprachsystem" in *TLP* 1 (Prague, 1964).

SKALIČKA, VLADIMÍR, born 1909 in Prague. Studied at Prague University, where he became lecturer in Ugro-Finnic linguistics and, after World War II, Professor of General Linguistics. His main interest is centered on problems of linguistics typology, in the study of which he asserts the functionalist and structuralist viewpoint. His theory is explained in his main work *Zur ungarischen Grammatik* (Prague, 1935). He also wrote a monograph *Vývoj jazyka* [The Development of Language] (Prague, 1960). A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle; a corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

SLOTTY, FRIEDRICH, born 1881, a German linguist who lived from 1924 in Czechoslovakia, where he was Professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the German University in Prague, until the time of the Nazi occupation; after 1945 lived in Eastern Germany. His main interest was centered on problems of general linguistics, Vulgar Latin and Greek dialects. His main works: *Vulgärlateinisches Übungsbuch* (Heidelberg, 1918), *Einführung ins Griechische* (Heidelberg, 1922). A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle. Died in 1964.

TRNKA, BOHUMIL, born 1895 at Kletečná near Humpolec (Bohemia), studied in Prague as V. Mathesius' pupil. In the mid-twenties was appointed Lecturer, and in the early thirties Professor of English at Caroline University, Prague. His interest centers especially on problems of general grammar, mainly phonology (including its quantitative problems), structural morphology and syntax. His main works are: *Syntaktická charakteristika řeči anglosaských památek básnických* [A Syntactical Analysis of Old English Poetry] (Prague, 1925); *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden* (Prague, 1930); *A Phonological Analysis*

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BOHUMIL TRNKA

of Present-Day Standard English (Prague, 1935). One of the founding members of the Prague Linguistic Circle and its long-time Honorary Secretary.

TROST, PAVEL, born 1906 in Brno (Moravia). Studied in Prague and Brno as a pupil of B. Havránek and R. Jakobson; after World War II, Lecturer in General Linguistics at the University of Olomouc; since 1955 Lecturer, and later Professor, of Comparative Linguistics at Caroline University, Prague. His interests are divided between problems of General and Comparative Linguistics (especially Baltic and Germanic); his main writings: *Bemerkungen zum deutschen Vokalsystem* (Prague, 1939); *Bemerkungenum Sprachtabu* (Prague, 1939); "Funktion des Wortakzents," *TLP* 1, 1964. A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

TRUBETZKOY, NIKOLAJ SERGEJEVIČ, born 1890 in Moscow, was Professor of Slavic Philology, successively, in Rostov, Sofia and Vienna (there from 1923). Died in 1939, as indirect victim of Nazi occupation. His friendship with Jakobson and common scientific interests (development of the phonological pattern of language) associated him very closely with the activities of the Prague group. His main work, *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (Prague, 1939), became a basic presentation of phonological facts and problems.

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NIKOLAJ TRUBETZKOY

Other outstanding works: *Polabische Studien* (Vienna, 1935), *Altkirchenslawische Grammatik* (posthumously, Vienna, 1956), etc. One of the founding members of the Prague Linguistic Circle, President of the International Phonological Association. A detailed obituary of N. S. Trubetzkoy, written by R. Jakobson, is contained in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Portraits of Linguists* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, forthcoming).

VACHEK, JOSEF, born 1909 in Prague, studied at Caroline University in Prague as a pupil of V. Mathesius and B. Trnka. After World War II Lecturer, and in 1947 Professor of English at Brno University. Since 1962 Senior Research Worker at the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. His main interests are general and historical phonology of English and Czech, structural grammar of English and Czech, and theory of written language. Main writings: *Two Chapters on Written English* (Prague, 1959); *On Some Less Familiar Aspects of the Analytical Trend of English* (Prague, 1961); *Dictionnaire de linguistique de l'Ecole de Prague* (Utrecht-Antwerp, 1960). A prewar member of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

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Appendix II

Ten Years of the Prague Linguistic Circle*

VILÉM MATHESIUS

The Prague Linguistic Circle arose from small beginnings, but it grew systematically and organically because it was no product of chance. It originated because there was acute intellectual need for it, and it arose exactly at the moment when the situation of international research was getting ripe for an attempt of the kind.

If I am to give a pragmatic account of how all this happened I can but start with a few words about myself. Already as a university student I was attracted more by a horizontal [i.e., synchronistic, J.V.] than by a vertical [i.e. diachronistic, J.V.] view of language. In this I was a pupil of those earlier German linguists who were not oriented in the Neogrammarian direction, especially of Georg von der Gabelentz and Ph. Wegener, and of two independently thinking non-German linguists, the Englishman Henry Sweet and the Dane Otto Jespersen. The conviction of my going in the right direction was growing in me as time went on, and I did not hesitate to declare it openly several years before de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* was to be published. In 1909 I started my lectureship at the university by giving a whole year's course on the analysis of contemporary English. Also, my lecture delivered at the Royal Czech Society of Sciences on February 6, 1911 (and published in the *Bulletin* of the Society under the title "On the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language" in that same

* Originally published in Czech under the title "Deset let Pražského linguistického kroužku," *SaS* 2, 1936, pp. 137-145. Translated by J. Vachek (slightly abridged).

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year)[1] was based on the idea that in linguistics the analytical procedure going from statics to dynamics [i.e., from synchrony to diachrony, J.V.] is the safest. I was convinced that only in the analysis of contemporary language do we have at our disposal materials that are reasonably complete, while in the past the materials are the more insufficient the further back we go. I found that the reality must have been much more complex than current historical grammar would have us believe, as the materials of the old stages of languages present, as a rule, only a very simplified picture of those languages. For these reasons, my analyses of English, published since 1910 in the periodical *Sborník filologický*, were concerned with contemporary language. In them I increasingly realized the advantages of the procedure going from the needs of expression to the means of language by which these needs are satisfied, or, to put the matter more briefly, of the procedure going from the function to the form, in other words, of the functional method.

A bad disease of the eyes by which I was affected in October, 1922, and which considerably limited my ability to read, made me supplement my interest in Colloquial English with a parallel interest in Colloquial Czech, which could be studied by hearing only. Thus, the year 1923 witnessed the publication of two of my contributions to the analysis of Colloquial Czech. Besides, in that same year, the Ministry of Education answered favorably my application for an assistant to help me with my research work, so difficult now because of my disease. My daily meetings with Dr. Bohumil Trnka, who had been appointed to the post, were to become even more stimulating for me than my earlier contact with my students. Trnka's interest in linguistic theory had been directed by K. Skála-Rocher[2] to concrete problems of historical grammar; it was necessary to extend his interest to problems of general linguistics and to Contemporary English. This led me to the writing of the papers on the essence of the sentence (published in 1923) and, a year later, on the function of the subject in Modern English (both papers were published in the periodical *ČMF*).

In those years, I became more closely acquainted with Roman Jakobson, a young graduate of Moscow University, who came to Prague in June, 1920, and called on me for the first time in September that year. This very well-informed and extremely clever young Russian brought with him from Moscow vivid interest in the very kind of linguistic problems which had been at the center of my

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attention, and he greatly encouraged me in my linguistic efforts by supplying me with evidence that elsewhere, too, such problems were being persistently attacked. Thus, at the time when my ailing eyesight made me concentrate on theoretical thinking, I had by my side two young linguists whose research orientation was akin to mine. The lack of close contact with the Prague philological workers, which used to depress me, was felt with equal intensity now by Jakobson, who had been accustomed to a very different atmosphere in his pre-Prague years. We often discussed the need for a discussion and working center for young linguists, and it was quite natural that we attempted to form it. I have noted down that on March 13, 1925, I invited to a gathering Jakobson and Trnka, and with them S. Karcevskij, who, later on, was to become lecturer in Russian in Geneva but at that time still acted as a master of the Russian Senior High School in Prague. On October 14, that same year, I again invited Jakobson, Trnka, Karcevskij, and with them B. Havránek, who, at that time, was preparing for his lecturership on Comparative Slavic linguistics. The participants in this meeting can still recall its program. For it I had worked out a paper on new currents and tendencies in linguistic research (which later—on November 9, 1925—I read before the Royal Czech Society of Sciences, and ultimately published in English in the volume dedicated to J. Zubatý).[3] The main theses of that paper, outlining the directions for a new approach to linguistic problems, were subjected to discussion as an ideological basis for the linguistic center which, with our joint forces, we were resolved to establish in Prague. The form of our joint activities was to be, in the beginning, meetings with lectures followed by discussions.

The opportunity to launch such meetings turned up in the fall of 1926. At that time, Prague was visited by Dr. Henrik Becker, a young German linguist, who was then following an interesting parallel between the formation of Modern Standard Czech and Modern Standard Hungarian. He was the son of a Romance scholar of Leipzig, his mother was a Frenchwoman, and as his father, before coming to Leipzig, had taught at the universities of Budapest and Vienna, Dr. Becker had a great practical command of modern European languages. He made use of it in his comparative analysis of the communicative abilities of various languages, and during his Prague stay he was fully engaged in observing how European languages, under the influence of a common European culture, are becoming "Europeanized." He wanted

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to report his findings in Prague to a meeting of younger linguists. Having learned of this from Trnka, who had become acquainted with Becker not long before during his working stay in Leipzig, I organized a meeting in my faculty office (which, at that time, was in the old faculty premises, 4, Veleslavínova street). It took place on October 6, 1926, in the afternoon, and there were six people present: apart from Becker and myself, there were, of course, Jakobson, Trnka, and Havránek, and, in addition to this, the Orientalist scholar Jan Rypka, then a lecturer at Prague University. We attentively listened to Becker's lecture, entitled "Der europäische Sprachgeist," and then thoroughly discussed the speaker's theses. All of us enjoyed the meeting and gladly proceeded to the organization of further meetings. It should be added that already in arranging the first meeting I expected these gatherings to become a regular institution. Thus the meeting of October 6, 1926, was really the first of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

The new linguistic center witnessed an increased number of meetings, and of speakers as well as listeners. In the period between October, 1926, and June, 1927, nine meetings with lectures and discussions were held; in the following season, however, this number was already reached by the end of March, 1928. At the end of June that year the number of lectures had gone up to eleven, despite the fact that in April no meeting took place owing to the Hague International Congress of Linguists held that month. Among the speakers one found, naturally, in quick succession all those who had participated in the first meeting. Already in the first two years one could observe a feature which became so characteristic of the Prague Circle—the participation of foreign, especially Russian, linguists. Between October 1926 and June 1928 the list of speakers—some of whom, it should be added, delivered two or even three lectures—included eight Czechs (Havránek, Ilek, Trnka, Oberpfalcer, Mukařovský, Mathesius, Rypka, Buben), five Russians (Jakobson, Karcevskij, Trubetzkoy, Tomaševskij, Bogatyrev), two Frenchmen (Tesnière and Brun) and one German (Becker). Three lectures were delivered by Jan Mukařovský, whose name was entered for the first time in the list of those present at the third meeting (December 2, 1926). But although the number of the listeners was increasing, there was a tendency, in the initial period, not to increase the number of participants too quickly. In the year 1926-27 the average number of the participants, including the speakers, was slightly over seven; in 1927-28

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slightly over nine. The limited number of participants made it possible to continue, for a reasonably long time, the pleasant custom, willingly agreed on since the beginning of the Circle's existence, of holding not only the regular meetings with lectures and discussions (convened on the premises of the English department of the University) but also less formal meetings, of which no minutes were recorded, in the households of the individual members.

As for the themes of the twenty lectures given in the first two years, no less than three quarters of them were concerned with linguistic problems, which were always treated from the general angle, even if some of the themes were more specialized. Already in those two years, however, one can find such themes as that of a linguistically oriented theory of poetry (Mukařovský, Tomaševskij); and one lecture was devoted to parallel problems of linguistics and ethnology (Bogatyrev).

The group which started its activities so vigorously would certainly have thriven well on the lines laid down the first two years of its activities, even if no outside intervention had influenced it. But even before the said two years had elapsed the development of the Circle was to be very strongly, and very profitably, influenced by an international linguistic movement.

It was really a most fortunate idea of the Dutch linguists of the Catholic University of Nijmegen to make the best of the changing situation in linguistic research by organizing the First International Congress of Linguists at The Hague in April, 1928, and, moreover, to ask its participants in advance to answer six really essential questions concerned with linguistic research in the most general sense of the word. The unanimity of the Prague Circle's linguistic thinking was evidenced by the fact that out of the thirteen theses answering the fourth question, concerning the most suitable method of complete practical analysis of any language from the grammatical viewpoint, no less than nine were presented by four members of the Circle, who responded thus without any previous mutual agreement.

Apart from Jakobson, Trubetzkoy, Karcevskij and myself, the only linguists to answer this question were the two representatives of the Geneva school, Ch. Bally and A. Sechehaye, and Professor Hestermann of Hamburg. As the views of the Prague Linguistic Circle had much in common with those of the representatives of the Geneva school, it occurred to me that it might be profitable to merge our theses into a joint program of new linguistics and

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present it collectively to the Congress. For this reason we organized in one of The Hague's cafés an evening meeting with the two Geneva scholars and with Professor Meyer-Lübke, who was to preside on the following day at the Congress session in which the theses presented to the fourth question were to be discussed. We reached a quick agreement and the result of our negotiations was that instead of presenting the individual theses separately, as they can be read in the little volume of the *Propositions* distributed to the members of the Congress (pp. 36-66) and in the *Proceedings* of the Congress (*Actes du Premier Congrès international des linguistes*, Leiden, no date, pp. 33-64), a joint program of linguistic analysis was worded and signed by representatives both of the Prague Circle (Jakobson, Mathesius, Trubetzkoy) and of the Geneva school (Bally, Sechehaye). This joint formulation of the principles of the new linguistics, printed in the *Proceedings* of the Congress on pp. 85-86, was presented to the plenary session of the Congress on April 12 and approved by it without any opposition. For the Prague Linguistic Circle this fact was significant in more than one respect. It became clear to us even more than before that in the international context we were by no means isolated with our theoretical views, and we became convinced that these views had grown so ripe that we could present them to our foreign colleagues; besides, we won friends and allies abroad.

One could draw heavily on the experience gained in The Hague International Congress of Linguists when preparing the participation of the Circle in the First International Congress of Slavicists, held in Prague in October, 1929. It was not the first time that the members of the Circle presented themselves to the Czech research world—as early as April, 1929, some of them had lectured at the First Conference of the Czechoslovak Senior High School Teachers held in Prague. The present writer gave a lecture there on Functional Linguistics, B. Havránek on the function of the standard literary language, J. Mukařovský on new trends in the study of poetry, and B. Trnka on the characterology of Modern English (see the Proceedings of the Conference).[4] This, however, was a mere episode in the history of the Circle. The preparation for the Slavist Congress was to take most of the time between the fall of 1928 and October 1929, because the Circle decided to prepare for the Congress its own publications and its own theses. The publications presented to the Congress were the first two volumes of the series *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, out of which the first

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contained, altogether, twelve papers on principal issues by five Czech (Havránek, Mathesius, Mukařovský, Trnka, Weingart) and six foreign authors (there were two papers by Trubetzkoy, one each by Brun, Durnovo, Karcevskij, Savickij, and Slotty); the whole of the second volume was devoted to Jakobson's study on the historical phonology of Russian. These two volumes, written in French and German, were the first independent publications of the Circle. The theses were presented by the latter, collectively in the linguistic and pedagogical sections, while in the literary-historical section Mukařovský's thesis and contribution for discussion were presented individually.

Most of the work was devoted to the elaboration of the linguistic theses which give a complete and systematic program of linguistic research with special regard to Slavic languages. They resulted from a collective work, patiently done for months in the meetings of a specially appointed committee, whose members were, mainly, Havránek, Jakobson, Mukařovský and the present author. Another very active participant in the meetings (held at a small café in Prague VII) was M. Weingart whose name emerges in the list of those present at the Circle's meetings for the first time on June 2, 1927. It is a great pity that the collective theses of the Circle have never been printed in the Proceedings of the Congress (which, unfortunately, were never published). The French version of the theses was printed in the first volume of *Travaux*, pp. 7-29.[5] The atmosphere of the Prague Congress of Slavicists, it should be added, was not favorable to being clearly centered on a definite domain of general problems. Unlike the situation in The Hague, the scientific disciplines represented in the Congress were not tied together by the internal bond of common methods; rather, they constituted a heterogeneous grouping united only by a common subject matter. Besides, reasons of representation and manifestation were to increase the number of the participants more than a really working congress can afford. For all this, the theses of the Circle, especially the linguistic ones, were met with great interest by the (especially the foreign) members of the Congress, and their success was especially manifested by the election, in one of the plenary sessions, of a committee (Belić, Doroszewski, Havránek, Jakobson, Karcevskij, Mathesius, Romanski, Simovyč, Szober, and Trubetzkoy) which was to provide for the analyses of contemporary Slavic languages according to the principles presented in the Circle's theses.

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As is well known, the principles of the Neogrammarian school were, in their time, applied most systematically and most successfully in the domain of the phonic level of language. Also, in the activities of the Prague Circle regard to the phonic side of language was to occupy, from the very beginning, a most important place. This is evidenced by the theses presented both at The Hague and in Prague. The functionally and structurally oriented analysis of speech was also to establish our close connections with the tradition of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, vivid in Russia, and partly also in Poland, as well as with modern American linguistics, represented mainly by Edward Sapir. There were, too, some ideas in O. Jespersen's work which we could develop further; moreover the leading English phonetician, Daniel Jones, was arriving at some conclusions rather closely related to our views. All these facts, and especially the achievements of our Russian colleagues, Trubetzkoy and Jakobson, were to make phonology our main *cri de guerre*. We felt that in the Second International Congress of Linguists, which was to be held in Geneva at the end of August, 1931, phonology would be the main issue, in regard to which it would be necessary to define our standpoint. We therefore decided to prepare the Geneva debate by organizing, in December 1930, an International Phonological Conference in Prague. We quickly set to work, and our daring undertaking proved more successful than anyone could have expected.

Our invitation was accepted by fifteen linguists of eight countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Holland, Norway, Poland, Switzerland and Yugoslavia); together with the participants of Czechoslovakia (ten Czechs, three Russians, two Ukrainians, one Serbian and one German) they thrashed out the involved issues with untiring interest for no less than four days (from December 18 to 21). The basis of the discussions was provided by twenty-two papers on main phonological issues. Out of them, seven had been prepared by Czechoslovak scholars, and fifteen by the participants from abroad. The *Proceedings* of the Conference were published in time for the Geneva Congress as volume IV of the *Travaux* (containing 326 pp.), and aroused a vivid interest in international linguistic quarters. The volume contained all papers read at the conference (with one exception), the summaries of the discussions, and the projects of phonological terminology and transcription. In Geneva phonology was really one of the main issues discussed in plenary sessions, but after the Prague conference the cause of

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phonology was virtually won. Trubetzkoy's paper introducing the discussion met no fundamental opposition and the International Phonological Association, which had been established during the closing session of the Prague Conference, was unanimously declared by the Congress for an organization affiliated to the Permanent International Committee of Linguists. The progress of phonological research is evidenced by a survey of phonological books and papers in our phonological bulletin which we issued twice, in 1932 and 1935, for the International Congresses of Phonetic Sciences in, respectively, Amsterdam and London. The bulletin, however, gives only a classified bibliography without any critical evaluation. Such evaluation would, of course, be very helpful, especially in the present state of phonological research.[6]

After the Prague Congress of Slavicists we were increasingly conscious of our duty not to neglect, for all our success abroad, propaganda for our ideas at home. We could attempt to do this propagandist work with a good conscience because our approach to language and its functions had never for us been a purely linguistic affair. The activities of Mukařovský and Jakobson fully endorsed my earlier conviction that linguistic theory makes the most natural ally of literary theory, and the consequences implied by our conception of the functions of the standard language impinged ever more intensely on the issues of our cultural life. We approached the broader circles of Czech intellectual workers in May 1930 at a meeting commemorating the eightieth birthday of T. G. Masaryk. The meeting was meant not only as a tribute to the work of a philosopher but also as an act of gratitude to a man who, with his rare understanding of the effort of the younger generation of research workers, supported us with his interest and assistance.

Two years later, we presented ourselves to the wider public of Czech educated circles in a series of meetings, the purpose of which was not to celebrate but to fight. It is still well remembered what circumstances had led to that series. After the death of Josef Zubatý in March 1931, the chief editorship of the periodical *Naše řeč*[7] was entrusted to Dr. Jiří Haller who, a genuine epigone, conceived his work in a pedantic, puristic spirit. His numerous reproofs called forth a violent reaction from the criticized Czech authors, and the ensuing polemics aroused an unusual wave of interest in the problems of Standard Czech among the educated Czech speakers. We had formed our clear views on those issues

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before. The Prague Linguistic Circle had dealt with the theory of standard language and its culture at an earlier period, in both the collective and individual writings of its members. Already in 1929, the Prague Slavicist Congress had been presented the collective theses of the Circle on the cultivation of the standard language and, in the framework of the chapter on functional languages, the Circle's theses on the literary language and on the language of poetry. As for individual writings, I could refer to a paper of mine on the issue of correctness of language, which I wrote as early as 1912 in the (now discontinued) periodical *Přehled* [Survey] and in which I criticized the puristic approach. Other members of the Circle (Havránek, Mukařovský, Trnka) had also discussed, in theoretically oriented papers, the problems of Standard Czech, the criteria of correctness in language and the problems of the language of poetry—their papers were published in *Travaux*, vols. I and IV, in the Proceedings of the Conference of Teachers of Senior High Schools of 1929, and elsewhere. Thus in the situation that arose in the quarrel of the Czech writers with Dr. Haller we felt fully justified in informing the cultivated circles, in a series of lectures with discussions, about our own views on the function of the standard language and on the cultivation of language.

The lectures of the series were realized in January and February 1932: in the meeting of January 12 I lectured on the postulate of stability in the standard language; on January 25, B. Havránek discussed the functions of the literary language and its cultivation,[8] and R. Jakobson spoke about contemporary Czech purism; finally, on February 8, M. Weingart lectured on the cultivation of the phonic aspect of Czech, and J. Mukařovský contrasted standard language with poetic language.[9] The series met with vivid response. The meetings had large attendances and were amply commented upon by the daily press. Our standpoint was encouragingly supported also by private communications, made even by some scholars of the older generation, including some direct pupils of Jan Gebauer.[10] We wanted to have the controversial issues thoroughly cleared by a further discussion and therefore prepared a printed version of all the lectures of the series. The volume containing them was issued in September, 1932, in the series *Výhledy* [Outlook] by the Melantrich Publishing House in Prague. The printed version was supplemented, apart from the usual alphabetical lists of reference, by an introduction supplying a programmatic framework for the book, and—which should especially be noted—

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by a summary of the principles that, in the Circle's opinion, should be respected in cultivating language. These theses, comprising more than thirteen pages, had been worked out collectively (this is expressly stated in the Introduction) by the authors of the volume, who bear a joint responsibility for them. Interest in the volume and response to it by the Czech general public was considerable. Had it not been for that volume, the authoritative sources[11] would hardly have liberated the Czech language from many puristic prohibitions and commands, formerly enforced by the *Naše řeč* (and by the official *Pravidla českého pravopisu* [Rules of Czech Orthography]). Now the puristic aggressiveness of the *Naše řeč* had to subside.[12]

The sympathy with which the Czech intellectuals followed our fight against the dictates of puristic pedantry, and the appeal our volume on Standard Czech proved to have to its readers, constituted a capital which had to be handled economically and efficiently. Consequently, after 1933 our activities were intensely directed towards our active domestic audience. But of course we did not neglect the foreign forum, and continued participating in all international congresses which dealt with linguistic questions. We thus took part in the Third International Congress of Linguists in Rome in 1933, in the Second Congress of Slavicists held in Warsaw in 1934, and especially in both phonetic congresses, the first of which took place in Amsterdam in 1932, and the second in London in 1935. In the Amsterdam Congress our members presented a series of lectures on the study of the phonic aspect of language from the functionalist and structural point-of-view (we also provided a printed version of these lectures, which was published in 1933 as a reprint from *Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Expérimentale*, 8-9, 1933). The London Congress already had its separate phonological section whose program was filled, for the greatest part, by members of the Circle and of the International Phonological Association. It should also be noted that two representatives of ours (A. Isačenko and J. Vachek) were invited in 1934 by the Anthropological Congress held in London to give, in its linguistic section, two informative talks on phonology.

Our claim that we consistently uphold our traditional contact with foreign scholars is strongly supported by the collective volume of studies in linguistics and theory of literature, which was published this year [1936, J.V.] as volume VI of our *Travaux* series and is dedicated to the Fourth International Congress of Linguists,

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meeting this year in Copenhagen. At the same time, this very volume gives evidence of how much stronger our native roots have become. The volume contains twenty-four contributions, the highest number ever reached in our collective volumes intended for international circles of linguists, and out of this number nine have Czech authors and one was written by a Slovak. Compared with the five Czech authors in the 1929 volume, and with the four Czechs in 1931, the present figure represents an increase of 100 per cent. The most enjoyable aspect of this increase is that, for the greatest part, it represents the work of our younger generation of scholars. An analogous strengthening of the domestic element in our work may be ascertained from the rich spectrum of the lectures held at the Circle's meetings within the last few years.

The increased concentration of the Circle's activities within the domestic domain is reflected, in the last few years, mainly by its publishing activities. Of great importance here is the outstanding participation of our members in the linguistic part of the encyclopaedic series *Československá vlastivěda* [The Knowledge of the Country]. We find here the history of Czech verse, both in older (R. Jakobson) and in more modern times (J. Mukařovský), Czech dialectology, and the history of Standard Czech (both by B. Havránek). It is exactly in these studies that the important contribution of the Circle's principles and methods for the study of Czech is revealed most clearly. The members of the Circle were invited to participate in this work individually; there was, however, also a collective enterprise launched by the Circle in the domestic domain. This was the foundation of the Circle's own periodical, which was agreed upon by a committee of the Circle and the Melantrich Publishing House in 1934. In this way the *Slovo a slovesnost* [Word and Poetics] came into existence, expressly denoted in its subtitle as the organ of the Prague Linguistic Circle.[18]

The first issue was published, after long and careful preparation, in March 1935. The introductory paper, signed by the whole Editorial Board, programmatically enumerated all the tasks the Circle would like to perform in the domestic domain. It is, in a way, a maxima program, and one should not wonder why only a part of it could be realized by now. Still, after the publication of the first six issues of the periodical, one can assert that the new journal has succeeded in finding both its field of problems and its collective body of readers. As its particular assets should be realized the liv-

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ing, working contact between scholars, new literary theorists, and writers, men of literary practice.

We have come to the end of our survey of the activities of the Prague Linguistic Circle in its first decade. We have traced here the way in which the Circle originated and in which its activities were gradually developing both at home and abroad. We may be fully satisfied with the results of our work in this decade. In foreign linguistics we fought for and won for our group the respectful title of the "Prague School," while at home nobody can, without ill will, deny us the merit of having given many fresh impulses to Czech linguistic and literary research by our new standpoint and our new methods of work. Also, as an organization of research workers, we have formed a working comunity of a specific type. We formed an association on the basis of a collective effort of research workers and we willingly accepted into our group any qualified worker who agreed with our basic standpoint and was prepared for honest cooperation. We have never been eager to increase our numbers because we have been intent only on the possibility of working jointly, not on the acquiring of positions of power. When in 1930 the Circle was reorganized from a free group into a firmly organized association, the application for the approval of its statutes by the authorities was signed by no more than seventeen members, and even now, at a time when the number of our lectures and discussions is very high, the total of our members, including members from abroad, only slightly exceeds fifty.

Our working symbiosis with the young Russian scholars is sometimes adduced by those who are not favorably inclined toward us as an argument for the assertion that our own activities are nothing but a Czech application of the teaching of Russian linguistic and literary historical theories. Even if this were true, it would hardly be objectionable because everywhere in the world progress in scientific research consists, for the greatest part, in the development and new application of ideas taken from elsewhere. Czech research work especially has had—apart from rare exceptions—a character of more or less independent marginal notes on the scientific development outlined by workers of pioneer foreign countries. Besides, there might be some merit in introducing Russian influence into the quarters in which an excessive hegemony had belonged to the influence of German research work. But the reality is not so simple by far and the thesis of our opponents alleging

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our passive acceptance of Russian models is not correct. I had sailed against the Neogrammarian tide long before I met the young Russian linguists, and as regards the theory of literature, mere reference to J. Mukařovský's thesis of 1923[14] will suffice to convince that, here too, the tree of the new conception of research has been deeply rooted in the native soil. Our meeting with the Russians has brought us support and instruction, and it is only honest to say in public, at this opportunity of the tenth anniversary of our Circle, that we are sincerely grateful to them for this. On the other hand, it was not always ourselves who played the part of the pupils. Our symbiosis has developed, in a very pleasant way, the mutual "give and take" which should characterize any and every occasion of scientific cooperation, and especially a genuine cooperation of Slavic research workers. This is due to the positive creative effort which has been typical of the Prague Linguistic Circle from its very beginnings. And positive research work will be our goal also in the years to come. We are certain that the balance of our activities is a good justification of our work and that it will be even better in future.

NOTES

1. The English wording of that lecture can be found in *PSRL*, pp. 1-32. [J.V.]

2. A prominent Czech specialist in Romance philology who, though not himself a university teacher, reared two generations of Romance scholars. [J.V.]

3. V. Mathesius: "New Currents and Tendencies in Linguistic Research," *MNHMA* (J. Zubatý volume, Prague, 1927), pp. 188-203.

4. *Sborník přednášek proslovených na prvém sjezdu československých profesorů filosofie, filologie a historie v dubnu 1929* [Lectures given at the First Conference of Czechoslovak Masters of Philosophy, Philology and History in April 1929] (Prague, 1929).

5. And reprinted in *PSRL*, pp. 33-58; the essential parts of the theses were also published in the Russian translation in Zvegincev's *Istorija jazykoznanija XIX i XX vekov v očerkach i izvlečenijach*, II (Moscow, 1965), pp. 123-140. [J.V.]

6. The International Phonological Association has, in fact, decided this year [1936, J.V.], in its Copenhagen sitting, to meet this demand, and instructed the committee to put this decision into practice. [This decision, however, was never to be realized. J.V.]

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7. *Naše řeč* [Our Language] is a periodical specializing in problems of the cultivation of Standard Czech, including the problems of correct language and adequate stylistic differentiation. [J.V.]

8. The essential part of this lecture is contained in *PSRE*, pp. 3-16, in P. L. Garvin's translation into English. [J.V.]

9. This lecture, too, has been translated by P. L. Garvin into English and published in an abridged version, in *PSRE*, pp. 17-30. [J.V.]

10. J. Gebauer was a prominent historian of the Czech language, somewhat influenced by Neogrammarian theses; he was the author of the monumental historical grammar of Czech. [J.V.]

11. Especially the Academic *Příruční slovnik jazyka českého* [the nine-volume unilingual dictionary of the Czech language].

12. This was also stated by F. Trávníček in the daily paper *Lidové noviny*, Nov. 1, 1936.

13. Since 1953, the periodical has been serving as the organ of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. [J.V.]

14. *J. Mukařovský, Příspěvek k estetice českého verše* [A Contribution to the Esthetics of Czech verse] (Prague, 1923).

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Appendix III

Linguistics and the Ideological Structure of the Period*

BOHUMIL TRNKA

It is almost a truism that any science, as a system of ordered knowledge, develops in close connection with the whole ideological structure of its period, and that its goals shift as the whole of this structure moves on. The history of a science can be defined as a history of its effort to reach its own goals; these goals, however, are never fully reached, because the structure of the superordinate science repeatedly imposes new goals upon that effort. Thus some problems remain unsolved, others appear in a new light, or problems entirely new are seen to emerge against the background of the constant features of the old problems.

The establishment of the stages of development of individual sciences is done by immanent criteria which are selected by observers from the continuous flow of the happenings within the examined structure, but at the same time are prompted by the struc-

* Originally published in Czech under the title "Jazykozpyt a myšlenková struktura doby," *SaS* 10, 1948, pp. 73-80. Translated by J. Vachek.—The paper reproduces a lecture delivered at the meeting of the 3rd class of the former Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts on October 27, 1943. It is thus a document which shows how Czech linguists, even in the grim days of Nazi occupation, did their utmost to carry on theoretical research in linguistics along the lines established in prewar decades. The conditions under which this lecture was prepared can account for the absence in it of stress on the social function of language, and on the relation existing between the developments of language and the society using it. For analogous reasons, in the section conveying appreciation of the French linguistic school the influence exercised on it by Bergson appears to have been overestimated, while the influence of Durkheim, understandably, was not and could not have been registered at all. [J.V.]

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ture of the given period. The autonomus development of the given discipline inside the development of sciences taken as one whole marks off that discipline from the other sciences and guarantees that the tendencies operating in other sciences are not introduced into it mechanically but with due subordination to the structural features of that discipline. Whenever one attempted, in the past, to apply the achievements of one science to another in a non-structural manner—as a typical instance of that kind may be mentioned Schleicher's attempts at the application of Darwin's biological theory to linguistics—such attempts were doomed to fail.

The history of linguistics, like the history of any other social science, has been conditioned by both the above-mentioned factors, the ideological structure of the period and the autonomous trend of the discipline. The higher speed of the development of linguistics, evidenced in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, is connected with the more violent development of research of the period building on the rationalist foundations laid by the eighteenth century.

If linguistics is considered globally, as a whole of which the reconstructive Indo-European linguistics constitutes only one of the sections, it cannot be regarded as an exclusively Romanticist achievement; it should be realized that the formation of many important concepts, employed by linguists even now, goes back to earlier periods. It should be noted that the very historicism in linguistics, so typical of the nineteenth century, was growing out of strong rationalist roots. One can point out, for instance, that Josef Dobrovský, one of the founders of Slavic philology, was a typical rationalist of the Illuminati type; there was hardly any trace in him of the romanticist trends of the younger Czech generation led by Josef Jungmann. After all, even the latter generation still revealed many Illuminati features, and Ugro-Finnic linguistics, which was being born in Hungary at about the same time, was also building on rationalist traditions.

Admittedly, the Romanticist approach considerably broadened the linguistic horizons and intensified the interest in linguistic research. Furthermore, this approach prepared the ground for the flourishing of linguistics by removing from the culture and literary documents of the past periods the stigma of barbarism, fought intensely by the eighteenth century. In this way, even languages and dialects lacking classical elegance came to be regarded as objects worthy of study; here the Romanticist approach emphasized in-

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dividuality as against generality, and to classicism was opposed national specificity, reflected mainly by language, its phonic and morphological levels. But all this broadening and intensification of the study of language, which had originated in the early part of the nineteenth century, was based on firm rationalist foundations which were to become even stronger in the latter part of the same century.

The positivist period was to preserve, as a Romanticist heritage, only the atomistic observation of the individual and his psychology, coupled with aversion from logically semantic evaluation. On the other hand, it was to eliminate the Romanticist admixtures that, until that time, had affected the study of comparative Indo-European linguistics, and, besides, it was to add another important methodological step, namely, the distinction of changes purely phonetic from those caused by a factor called by the Aristotelian term of analogy. For a period characterized by biological and materialist tendencies it was only natural to regard sound changes as reflections of basic, blindly operating factors of the physiological kind, while the operation of morphological analogy was evaluated as a merely negative factor, violating, by subsequent psychological intervention, the absolute regularity ("Ausnahmslosigkeit") of physiological processes. Classified as another factor apparently violating the regularity of sound laws was the taking over of loans in which the native language obtained such words as had not been subjected to the processes of its sound changes (on the other hand, however, such words yielded valuable chronological cues). These three simple principles established by the diachronistic Neogrammarian theory of language—the absolute regularity of sound changes, the operation of analogy, and the taking over of loans—yielded a basis satisfactory for the classification into periods, as well as for the stratification, of richly preserved language materials, and for finding out their exact genetic relationships by using the method of genetic reconstruction.

The fruitful pioneering effort of the German grammarians of the 1870's is certainly admirable, but today their achievement can and must be subjected to criticism. The Neogrammarians *atomized* facts of language, in full conformity with the bias of their period, tearing them out of their structural connections, although it is exactly these connections to which the facts of language owe their existence as signs. The sound correspondences, found in Neogrammarian linguistic analyses, admittedly inform about the exact time

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sequences of the examined phonic facts but disregard the changing structures of subsequent stages, so that the established facts cannot be duly placed into the systems to which they belong.

This shortcoming is clearly seen by anyone studying, for instance, Noreen's *Vårt Språk*. The distinguished Swedish linguist, who can be regarded as one of the precursors of modern linguistic thinking, enumerates in exhaustive detail all sounds represented both in Standard Swedish and in Swedish dialects, but his list of sounds has no intrinsic value for a scholar personally ignorant of these dialects, because no information is given on the structural position of these sounds in the systems of the dialects concerned. Similarly, grammars of dialects presenting diachronistic correspondences of sounds can give no idea of what the present-day structure of such dialects looks like, not to speak of the lack of structural description of their development. Linguists of the earlier periods never drew methodological conclusions from the fact that speech sounds have no real existence outside their own system of language, and they used to place on the same level elements structurally very different (and sometimes did not even realize the existence of such elements). The misrepresentation of the system of language, now seen in their writings, was not obvious to them, of course, for the simple reason that the object of their research had been the genetic comparison of *related* languages, which, structurally too, are very closely similar to one another. It was exactly the concentration of research upon diachronistic similarities of the compared stages of languages and the tendency to deduce such similarities from the parent language that prevented these linguists from analysing structures of languages as wholes.

It is clear that the above-characterized type of research could not give rise to structural linguistics, which could only arise from considerations of nonhistorical comparison of totally different systems of language. Besides, the nonstructural bias of the Neogrammarian approach was necessarily implied by the very theory of this approach. This is clearly seen from H. Paul's formulation of the task of linguistics, given in his book *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (the very title of the book reflects the ideology of the period of its origin). In Paul's opinion, the task of the linguist is to ascertain the sequence of changes of the speaking activity of all individuals using a language; as, in practice, this ideal goal cannot be reached, one should establish an average (*Durchschnitt*) of the speaking activities of a greater number of individuals

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in their mutual relations. Is it, however, possible to identify a present-day Czech word with a word pronounced centuries ago by John Huss or J. A. Comenius without making use of the term "immanent structure"? Obviously, linguistics cannot claim the exactness demanded for it by Paul to make it, as it is in Paul's opinion, the most exact of the historical sciences, if the linguist's view is narrowed down to what is individual and cannot be repeated, having no history. The theoretical contradiction, which cannot be bridged by Paul's postulate of establishing the average of the speaking activities, is seen to undermine the foundation of historical linguistics, and it was only logically consistent if, in the Neogrammarian school itself, voices came to be heard denying any possibility of historical comparison (cf. A. Schmitt, *Die Schallgebärden der Sprache*, Wörter und Sachen 17).

Paul's views were in full agreement with the structure of science of his period. Perhaps it will not be too far from the truth to say that Paul's views on the psychological basis of sound changes already reflect the impressionism of the years to come, the impressionism anticipated also, for instance, by the German physicist Ernst Mach (*Analyse der Empfindungen*, 1886) with his theory of sensations forming a basis common to both social and natural sciences. Steinthal's and, later on, Wundt's effort to account for facts of language in terms of collective psychology is a step which, despite some differences, does not take us too far ahead of Paul's linguistic theory. The former, despite the motto "Völkerpsychologie" written on its banner, is hardly based, in essence, on anything but the individual psychology of sensations and images. In Steinthal's case one has to do with Herbart's associationist psychology, in Wundt's case with his own apperceptionist psychology. The chief difference between Steinthal and Wundt on the one hand and Paul on the other was that the latter, as a linguist, openly stressed the individualist basis, common also to the former two scholars, and that, unlike them, led by his common sense, he wanted to obtain support for linguistic research not from psychology only but from other disciplines as well.

It is thus clear that the nineteenth century German linguists worked out their theories in close contact with the then contemporary currents of German thinking in other sections of the structure of science. This connection of linguistics and other social sciences could be traced back to the times of Leibnitz, Herder, and Kant (let us recall that Humboldt's general linguistic theory

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had been shaped under the influence of Herder's and Kant's philosophical systems). Similarly it could be observed that British, American, and, to a degree, Scandinavian linguistics reflected the influence of philosophical views of Bentham and Spencer. One should, however, devote some attention to French linguistics, which, too, in the nineteenth century kept on developing in contact with the native currents of thinking, even if it did not shrink from accepting concrete results and methods of German research work. Good evidence for this is the linguistic theory of Antoine Meillet.

In its essence, Meillet's linguistic theory points to the old French ideal of a general grammar, aimed at by philosophers and linguists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (it is symptomatic that even in the turbulent times of the French Revolution one published a general grammar intended for mankind as a whole), but it chooses a different method and a different starting-point. Meillet, unlike Leibnitz, does not base his conception on aprioristic philosophical and logical considerations, but, in agreement with the historical bias of his century, concentrates his observation on the changes of language, phonetic as well as morphological, and by their mutual comparison intends to discover the laws that overstep the limits of one language family and are concerned with the whole of mankind and with every individual whose psychophysical nature they express. In other words, the French comparativist tries to find one general formula and one psychophysical reason for any phonetic and other type of change. Changes or droppings of intervocalic consonants, for instance, are explained as due to general principles of articulation—here the promising development of French phonetics was giving Meillet's theories ample support—and the simplification of complicated morphology is again accounted for by the psychological and logical tendencies of languages to arrive at one and the same kind of form for one and the same kind of function. Physiological, psychological and logical conditions of language, which are common to all people, are conceived as unifying factors, working in language development incessantly against moments of variable character. The big factor continuously disrupting the unity of language is the structure of the society speaking the given language and concretizing, after its own regularities, one of the general potentialities given by the language. Language changes incessantly, but its changes, as Meillet emphasizes, must be sudden, because otherwise mutual understanding, which is the main task of language, might be jeopardized.

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Changes of language correspond, in part, to historical conditions, to shifts in the social situation due to foreign invasions, colonization, changes in population, and various cultural currents. In the long run, language unity is rooted in the homogeneity of civilization, and dissociation of that unity is connected with big historical events.

All these views of Meillet, which can be outlined only very briefly, are clearly based not only on the general French cultural tradition but also on the contemporary currents of French sociology and philosophy. Meillet connects changes in language (which is considered by us as an autonomous system of oppositions *sui generis*), in an absolute, straightforward manner, with changes of structures essentially alien to the system of language. The lack of the concept of the system of language *où tout se tient* prevented Meillet from being completely successful in looking for his unifying principle, but his undisputed merit lies in his effort to emancipate linguistics from purely genetic considerations. The same can be said about Grammont's theory of sound changes, in which the French phonetician is trying to arrive at a unifying view of historical kinesics of most varied languages.

With the stimulating philosophical activity of the prewar years is also closely connected the linguistic theory of the Geneva scholar Ferdinand de Saussure, whose place in the history of linguistics is comparable to that held in philosophy by Brentano with his pioneering work. In his well known *Cours de linguistique générale*, posthumously edited by his devoted students, the Swiss comparativist posed, in the first place, the question of what exactly is the object to be examined by linguistics. He posed that question in a period whose most distinguished thinkers had already given up dogmatic positivism and atomizing psychologism, and answered it in what is now termed the structuralist manner.

At that time, the whole structure of science was found to be slowly changing. The associationist and apperceptionist psychology was being replaced, in Germany too, by "Denkpsychologie," examining bigger and higher contexts of psychic processes. Also the new logic was coming into its own; unlike the logic of J. S. Mill, it was grounded not in the psychology of sensations or in psychological experience but in relations and system. In philosophy, the positivist era was being outdone by emphasis laid on purposeful activity, whether in the form of Bergson's philosophy of *élan vital*, or of American pragmatism, English neorealism or, finally, the

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logistically oriented phenomenology.[1] Saussure's merit consists in his having emancipated linguistics from the danger of isolation, impending on it in these days of new scientific thinking, and in having placed it on a new, logically structuralist basis by replacing the atomizing realism and naive empiricism of the older school with the concept of function and system of hierarchically ordered signs.

Linguistics—and, later on, esthetics—have been definitively getting rid of psychologistic bias and finding an ally in the modern relational logic worked out by Bertrand Russell; modern logic takes on the part of the leading science in the structure of sciences of today, and even permeates psychology itself. Linguistics may entrust itself to this current without any fears for its autonomy, formerly menaced by psychologism, because relational logic and allied currents of thought teach it to rest on its own basis and to start from the minimum number of further unanalyzable prerequisites—in short, provides it, just as it does, for instance, psychology—only with a model of its procedure. How fruitful the structuralist procedure is, resting on that basis, is evidenced by the functional analysis undertaken, with the cooperation of Prague linguists, by Professor N. S. Trubetzkoy of the University of Vienna in the domain of the phonic facts of languages. It has become known under the term "phonology."

Although the model of modern linguistics as a science dealing with the signs of language is furnished by relational logic, closely related to the philosophy of mathematics, it must be stressed that the object of linguistic research is *empirical reality*, not the underlying fact of human thinking, and that, thus, the results of linguistic research, dealing with empirical facts, have empirical validity. Language as a system of signs used for definite purposes becomes changed in space and time, and laws arrived at have thus a limited spatial and temporal validity. Even the validity of the so-called general laws of language is necessarily of an empirical character; they cease to have this validity as soon as one finds that for this or that language they do not hold. Today's structuralism takes into account both factors, time in language and space in language, and regards Saussure's identification of structuralism and synchrony as erroneous.

The sharp line drawn between synchrony, treating language as a system, and the non-structuralist diachrony, which only violates that system, is clearly fictitious, because language changes con-

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tinuously, even in the present period. One must not be misled by the apparent absence of changes in the standard language: language is a system at any moment of its development. Unless the structuralist approach is to commit the well-known methodological mistake of a *metabasis eis allo genos*, it must subject to structuralist analysis also the development of language: facts of language must not change their status in diachronistic research. Equally unacceptable, of course, is the old standpoint that the scientific approach to language is necessarily an exclusively historical one: in doing one's research, one is always free to substitute zero for the time factor and not to delimit the temporal extent of the established structure of language.

If we approach this task from the structuralist angle, our results will not contradict those which could be arrived at in taking into consideration the state of language immediately preceding or following the period under examination. In establishing the system of language of the remote past, it is of course indispensable to consider the preceding and the following stages of development, because this consideration includes moments of heuristic importance for the stage under analysis. On the other hand, in analysing the language of the present-day stage the suspension of the factor of time often proves to be advantageous and sometimes necessary; this should also apply to the comparison with a number of languages of any period.

Structural linguistics is, then, not oriented antihistorically as is still believed in some quarters; on the contrary, it acknowledges the importance of diachronistic research, which is also deepened and made more precise by the structuralist approach. In the domain of historical phonology, which constitutes the most developed branch of structural linguistics, one examines the sound-laws (i.e., the regular historical correspondences of sounds) in their functional relation to the changes of the system taken as a whole, and one tries to find out the functional connections existing between individual mutations which resemble consecutive moves on the chessboard, moves directed toward some goal (which need not necessarily be always reached and can be dropped, in the course of the game, and replaced by some other goal). Thus, phonology does not place the phonic changes in language in a sort of Cartesian opposition to the so-called changes by analogy, but rather regards these phonetic changes as a result of some sort of analogy, cooperating with the morphological analogy very precisely and

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without any overlappings, just as the morphological level cooperates with the level of syntax. As a matter of fact, this conception makes more precise the very concept of the absolute validity of sound-laws, because it is found that phonological mutations, as long as they are functionally valid, cannot be violated by interventions of morphological analogy. The absolute regularity of mutations—just as the nonexistence of exceptions from morphological laws—does not follow from the blind operation of physiological factors but from the necessity of a purely logical kind. As long as the Old Czech umlaut *a* > *ě* (resulting in the neutralization of the opposition *a* : *ě* in some positions of the word) was in operation, every word had to participate in this mutation just as necessarily and unfailingly as, in the field of morphology, any feminine noun ending in *-a* had to form its genitive case by the ending *-y*. Only after this neutralization had come to be cancelled by another mutation (by the merger of *ě* and *e*), an analogical *a*-sound could replace the umlauted *e* (from *ě*); for the sake of clarity it should be pointed out that the opposite analogy (replacing *a* by *ě*, *e*) is not concerned with neutralization, so that it could emerge even before the merger of *ě* and *e*. Of the same kind, i.e., unaffected by analogy, is also the absolute validity of the neutralization of paired voiced consonants in word-final positions before a pause. The fact that both analogies, phonic and morphological, operate side by side, without any mutual interference, can be used as a cue for the establishment of the chronology of mutations.

As noted above, the task of structural diachrony is to link individual mutations into their mutual functional connection which they have in view of their common goal. The history of language may thus be compared to a never-ending game of chess in which each of the moves is given by the total situation of the hierarchically ordered signs. The inner division of this infinite game into a series of stages is based on criteria immanent to the game but, at the same time, relevant for the observer at a given time, and it varies not only according to the position in time occupied by the observer but also according to the length of the period comprised by the observer establishing such stages. The establishment of stages in the past can thus never be definitive (and the same is true about the classification of sciences), because one of the factors, the observer, is a variable factor in this process.

The above commentary will have shown with sufficient clearness the distinction between the earlier and structuralist linguistics

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in the very domain which has ever been in the foreground of Neogrammarian interest. It would be possible to discuss other domains of language, such as morphology, syntax, and semantics, and to follow in them, too, the radical change of orientation, but lack of space forbids this. These other domains, too, would reveal again the same parallelism with the structure of the science of the period, just as does an effort to ascertain structural oppositions with the purpose of establishing the system; one would further ascertain departure from the psychologistic approach which, in these sections of the analysis of language, was denounced as inadequate already by Vossler, and the stress laid on the objectivizing procedure, the most outstanding model for which is supplied by relational logic. It may not be superfluous to emphasize, here too, that despite the connections existing between the development of linguistics and that of broader science groups—documented, for example, by the parallelisms found between American pragmatism and Sapir's theory of language—linguistics is developing independently in so far that it has to reshape the external influences inside its own scientific sphere if it is to discover new treasures of "facts" and problems.

Any science has (and must have) a certain expansiveness and, at the same time, the ability to go through a crisis involving its fundamental concepts. For this reason, the history of new achievements in separate sciences is most complex. A graphic example of such complexity is supplied by the development of the concept of phoneme from its emergence with Baudouin de Courtenay until our days: this development shows how its psychologistic definitions have given way to definitions worded in purely logical terms. The phoneme, the basic operational unit of phonology, is no longer conceived as a psychological bond conditioning the unity of differently articulated sounds, but as a member of the inventory of language means which are capable of distinguishing the items of the intellectual vocabulary of the given language. It was only in this deeper conception, emancipated from psychologistic admixtures, that the phoneme could become a fruitful linguistic concept.

Speaking about the system one should realize that this concept cannot exist without another important factor which, for want of a better term, we propose to call language experience. One may use here the Latin dictum, *Expellas hominem logica, tamen usque recurret.* Structuralism does not exclude this factor permeating all levels of the language system; on the contrary, this factor is in-

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cluded in the structuralist approach by the emphasis laid on the teleological aspect of the speech act. Concretely one can refer here to the work of Ch. Bally who systematically studied the affective means of language, basing his theory not on the old psychology, but on the theory of language outlined by his teacher F. de Saussure. Herein lies the great merit of Bally's work. Like Saussure, he admits that language is a system of super-individual, intellectual values, but he studies the emotional aspect of language, an aspect which he terms stylistic. Rousseau's countryman, Bally may have been here, like other contemporary French linguists,[2] under the influence of Bergson's philosophy. We cannot discuss here his views in detail. Suffice it to say that our concept of language experience has a broader meaning because it includes the experiencing not only of affective but also of intellectual elements of language. This broader conception of our term seems to be indispensable for linguistics. It is only by being experienced that the logically structured mechanism of language, for the most part very complex, becomes a functional totality whose adequacy can be satisfactorily tested by a non-mediated reality of language consciousness. Any deviation from this non-mediated reality, constituting a system of values, is identified as a mistake.

Unequal degrees of language experience give rise to zones of different depths, which also have different structural developments. Differences in experiencing language are responsible, for instance, for the different developments of the dialect and the standard language, or, for that matter, of domestic and foreign elements of the vocabulary. Without considering language experience one could not imagine how a certain language system could, to different degrees, influence other systems, or why that system could not only take over some items of some other language in the quality of intentional foreignisms, structurally differentiated from the native elements in the background, but even, on other occasions, regard as preferable a complete assimilation of such elements.

The very concept of function would be unclear if one did not consider the factor of language experience which, however, should not be taken in the psychological but in the purely linguistic sense. Both factors, the system of language and language experience, must necessarily be regarded as mutually related counterparts, because language lacking experience would be no more than an unchanging system of relations with no possibilities of develop-

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ment; and, on the contrary, without the values of logical order, language would only be equal to an accumulation of unanalyzable phonic utterances. The existence of their fundamental polar relation lies at the basis not only of Bally's conception but also of that of his German forerunner Ph. Wegener whose *Untersuchungen über die Grundlagen des Sprachlebens* (1885) may be classified, incidentally, as one of the best attempts at general linguistic analysis written in the nineteenth century. Finally, the said polar relation can account for alternate swings to "classicist" or "romanticist" trends in periods of cultural history (it is, however, necessary to stress the fact that the never-recurring concrete historical periods, denoted by these terms, are structures of very complex character). Both factors are, of course, always present in language. Some scholars are more inclined to analyse the former of the two aspects of language and lay particular stress on the postulate of absolute regularity of language phenomena, while others, such as Ch. Bally and, in this country, V. Mathesius, prefer to observe language experience and speak only of language trends or tendencies. Naturally, it cannot be denied that by its teleological essence language is a system of intellectually motivated diacritical values and that, thus, also the examination of the other factor, that is, language experience, must be done against the background of the results obtained by the analysis of those values.

It is time to summarize our paper. The present-day structure of science has been shifted—as is shown above all by linguistics—in the direction of structurally objectivizing orientation, in which the noetic model begins to be supplied by logic. This shift is noticeable also in other sciences, social as well as natural, and so things appear to be tending to an era of a certain mental balance, such as used to characterize the eighteenth century. This time, of course, the balance is turning upon a different axis, and also its relation to the preceding centuries is different. We do not discuss here the speed of penetration of the new orientation in individual disciplines or the concrete formation of sciences and their present-day tasks—all this would involve taking into account factors of very complex character. The progress of the structure of science is best implemented in peaceful cultural communities whose linguists or aestheticians or physicists can draw inspiration from their philosopher and sociologist (and other) colleagues, and, the other way round, whose philosophers and sociologists can be stimulated by their linguist, aesthetician, physicist (and other) colleagues who

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are able to keep pace with the latest developments in their sciences, who can experience and assimilate the results of these developments, and so can exercise leadership in pioneering research work. But even in the absence of such mutual support of local disciplines the structure of a science can profitably develop because a more highly developed sector, whether a science or an art, can substitute for the shortcomings of other sectors. Finally, one should not forget the strength obtained by any cultural community from the contact and solidarity with sectors of the structure of science proper to mankind taken as a whole.

NOTES

1. On these points, see, most recently, M. M. Guchman's well-informed analysis "Istoričeskie i metodologičeskie osnovy strukturalizma," in the collective volume *Osnovnye napravlenija strukturalizma* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 5-45. [J.V.]

2. Gilliéron's criticism of the then contemporary etymology reminds one of Bergson's fight against Darwinism. Traces of Darwinism can be noticed in Grammont's "law of the stronger factor," accepted also by E. Hermann.

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